

A HISTORY OF

THE INDIAN MUTINY



FIELD-MARSHAL THE RIGHT HON. LORD STRATHNAIRN, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

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OF

THE INDIAN MUTINY

REVIEWED AND ILLUSTRATED FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

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VOL. III.

THE CAMPAIGN IN CENTRAL INDIA—THE REBELLION IN ROHILCUND—THE CAMPAIGN IN ROHILCUND—MUTINY IN WESTERN BEHAR—SIEGE AND RELIEF OF ARRAH—SUPPRESSION OF MUTINY IN BEHAR—THE FINAL CAMPAIGN IN OUDH—PURSUIT OF TANTIA TOPEE

WITH MAPS, PLANS, AND PORTRAITS

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
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NOTE.

The first 277 pages of this volume form an Introduction prefixed to the fourth volume of "Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Military Department of the Government of India." The remaining 346 pages are now published for the first time. The accounts of the campaigns and operations of war have, as in the case of the previous volumes of this work, been mainly constructed from the despatches of the respective commanders. They have been fortified by a study of other genuine and official sources—the official papers descriptive of the Revolt written at the time, the reports of the State Trials, the evidence collected by the district officers immediately after their return to their districts. A large number of letters and diaries of military men have been placed at my disposal, but they do not supply the certainty of history. It has been my anxious care to draw from them useful material by separating facts and just inferences from matters and opinions which are honestly given as testified by the senses of the writer, but which in truth are

founded on the current statements and warped feelings of the hour. The records of the journalists, which are useful to consult for the verification of dates, contain stories of atrocities and of vengeance exacted, given with circumstantial horror, which are merely the combination of different tales caught up, repeated, and exaggerated. The Native Reports throw light on the Oriental character and the springs of its action, so difficult to analyse and so necessary to understand in order to judge rightly an Oriental revolt. The plain narratives of those who escaped from massacre, and their marvellous adventures, form the most romantic records of the Mutiny. The stories of a few of these adventures are told in this volume mainly in the language of the brave men and the delicate women who, with wounded feet and hearts heavy-laden, wandered with their children from village to village, but whose patient courage neither hardness nor suffering could crush. The numerous acts of kindness shown to them in those days of affliction by native landlords and peasants shine like stars through the dark clouds of murder and rapine.

INTRODUCTION.

In May 1857 the clear sunshine of India was darkened by mutinous clouds which broke in lightning and anarchy, and a continent was wrapped in the arms of fire. There were only twenty thousand soldiers and citizens of the ruling race to quench the flames. To fan them were a hundred thousand of their own well-trained soldiers, and a population of some millions armed and in revolt. The great Moghul capital, a large number of the chief cities, some of the fortresses and principal arsenals, were in the hands of the insurgents. All trace of British administration had vanished throughout the extent of great provinces. The mighty fabric of Empire was shaken to the foundations. But the men of the class who had erected it, schooled by a century of victory and government, determined it should stand reformed. Heroic deeds and great achievements began to pierce the gloom. In the first volume of this work the story is told how for more than twelve weeks a small force of besiegers fought more than thirty well-contested combats against a dis-

ciplined host, and, wan with disease, reduced in numbers, how they stormed in the face of day the strongly fortified Moghul capital; how half a British regiment, a few loyal sepoys, and a motley gathering of civilians defended against enormous odds, against increasing loss, against hope deferred, the fragile range of the Residency of Lucknow; how Havelock and his veterans, after four days' hard fighting, reached Cawnpore; how, though baffled at first, they broke the strength and spirit of a highly-disciplined army, and delivered from death a host of women and children. The vital struggle for supremacy closed with the storming and capture of Delhi (14th September 1857) and the relief of Lucknow by Havelock (25th September). The political and moral effects of Havelock's desperate venture were prodigious. A native leader of the Mutiny states: "Our first cause for regret was the early recapture of Cawnpore—that fact caused the Nepaulese to waver; a little later and our negotiations would have been completed. To the people of Oudh the first relief of Lucknow was the boldest act the English have ever undertaken, and from the date of the entry into the Bailey Guard all our hopes of overcoming the garrison except by starvation were given up." In the second volume of this work the tale is told how Colin Campbell, by a series of operations which will always be of compelling interest, relieved Outram and Havelock and removed the gallant garrison and the women and children from the Residency; how with a force of five thousand men

he totally defeated at Cawnpore an army of twenty-five thousand men, numbering in its ranks the most perfectly equipped and organised force in India; how he besieged and captured Lucknow—an operation which will always be considered a striking illustration of the art of war.

But even after the capture of Lucknow (March 1858) whole armies were still against us and entire kingdoms in insurrection. In the ancient province of Behar, occupying the north-western corner of Bengal, the Rajput chief, Koer Singh, still headed the revolt; in the Rohilcund, the vast tract bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south-west by the Ganges, and on the east by Oudh, Khan Bahadur, Khan of Bareilly, held sway; in Central India the authority, not only of the British Government but of the two leading Mahratta chiefs, Scindia and Holkar, had almost vanished. In the present volume the history of the Central Indian Campaign, one of the most glorious achievements recorded in the military annals of England, is told from the despatches of Sir Hugh Rose and the respective commanders and brigadiers. They have been collated with diaries and letters, and certain errors rectified and obscure points cleared. In the Central Indian Campaign no army, but a small body of good fighting men, led by a chief always ready to face tremendous risks, marched in the hottest and most deadly season of the year from the confines of Western India to the waters of the Jumna, a distance of a thousand miles. They made their way across rugged plateaux where roads were mere

tracks and towns few and far between; they toiled through dense jungles where the Bhil hunter roamed undisturbed; they crossed broad rivers, swollen with the rain which fell on the mountains; they forced formidable passes; they fought and won pitched battles, and they stormed the strongest forts. The capture of Jhansi must rank with the great actions recorded in British annals. A force consisting of an incomplete division had laid siege to a strong fortress and a walled city, defended by a desperate and disciplined garrison more than double its number, and supplied with all the munitions of war. The Bombay Sepoy and the Madras Sapper vied with the British soldier in patience, endurance of privation, and fatigue. Then, in light of day, this handful of men stormed the lofty walls, and, after four days' strenuous fighting, the city was captured. The taking of Calpee, a natural fortress on a high bald rock rising from the Jumna, completed the plan which the Government of India had drawn up for the Central India Field Force. But the occupation of Gwalior by Tantia Topee and the Ranee of Jhansi compelled Sir Hugh Rose, leaving a small garrison at Calpee, to make a very rapid march in summer heat to Gwalior with the remainder of his troops, and to fight and gain two actions on the road, one at Morar Cantonments, the other at Kotah-ka-Serai. They arrived, from great distances and by bad roads, at their posts before Gwalior on the day appointed, the 19th of June; and on that same day carried by assault all the enemy's positions on strong heights and in most

difficult ground; taking one battery after another, twenty-seven pieces of artillery in the action, twenty-five in the pursuit, besides the guns in the fort, the old city, the new city, and finally the rock of Gwalior, held to be one of the most important and strongest fortresses in India.[1] On the 28th of June Sir Robert Napier marched from Gwalior in pursuit of the enemy, and by a daring feat of arms closed the Central Indian Campaign.

On the 2nd of April 1858 Sir Hugh Rose captured Jhansi; on the 28th of April Sir Colin Campbell entered Rohilcund. The account of the Rohilcund Campaign is mainly constructed from the despatches of Sir Colin Campbell and of the respective commanders of the columns. Sir Colin Campbell showed at the capture of Bareilly the same great power of planning a combination which he displayed in the siege and capture of Lucknow. The concentration of the three columns (which had been projected some time before and well prepared) was executed with marvellous precision. Slowly but surely they were brought to bear on a great city which, though without walls, was filled by thousands of fanatics who only desired to die in a hand-to-hand struggle with the infidel. And the combination resulted in its occupation with much economy of life.

After the account of the Rohilcund Campaign the scene is shifted to Bengal, and the operations rendered necessary for the suppression of the revolt in Behar. The curtain rises on the outbreak in the

[1] Sir Hugh Rose's Despatch, 13th October 1858.

city of Patna, followed by the mutiny of the Sepoys at Dinapore (25th July 1857), and the march to Arrah. The tale is told again of the defence of the little house at Arrah—a noble exploit shining on a by-path of the history of the Indian Mutiny. The rescue of the few defenders by Major Vincent Eyre, his defeat of Koer Singh's army, and the capture of the Rajput Chief's citadel, were the main incidents of a "glorious little campaign," to use the words of Outram. The occupation of Azimghur by Koer Singh, Lord Mark Kerr's rapid march from Benares with a small force, and the stubborn fight by which he made his way into the beleaguered cantonment, are recorded in these pages. A detailed account, based on the official records, is also given of the subsequent operations under Sir Edward Lugard and the pursuit of the rebels by Brigadier Douglas, and their surprise and final defeat in the Kaimur hills. In Western Behar the operations did not result in any great victory, but they illustrated the true greatness of the British soldier's character.

From Bengal the narrative turns to Oudh, and the campaign which brought to an end the long and stern contest for supremacy in that kingdom. During the brief winter campaign some hundreds of forts were destroyed, about one hundred and fifty guns captured, and 150,000 armed men, of whom at least 35,000 were disciplined soldiers, were subdued. The success of the operations was due in great part to Lord Clyde's capacity for combination, and his accuracy and energy of

execution. It was the old campaigner's last campaign. The stone that covers his grave in Westminster Abbey tells the passer-by that of his own deserts through fifty years of arduous service, from the earliest battles of the Peninsular War to the pacification of India in 1858, he rose to the highest rank in the British army.

The last chapter of the volume records the pursuit of Tantia Topee—a striking example of that form of military activity known as "guerilla war." Of all the leaders who acted an important part in the Mutiny he possessed the greatest talent for organisation, the greatest enterprise as regards initiation; but in execution he was wanting in promptitude and decision, and on the field of battle he lacked the courage belonging to the Mahratta race. At the battle of the Betwa he planned with considerable skill the most formidable attack with which Sir Hugh Rose had to contend, but he galloped off the field at the very beginning of the contest. After the decisive defeat of the rebels by Sir Robert Napier, Tantia commenced the marvellous series of operations which continued for ten months. The commanders opposed to him are the best evidence of his extraordinary skill. He occupied positions of strategic importance, he seized cities, obtained fresh stores, collected new guns and fresh recruits. He kept his irregular force in constant motion, often marching sixty miles a-day in order to keep the British columns apart until the Nana could break through the cordon in Oudh and join him. Then, with the adopted son of

the last Peshwa, who was regarded as the legitimate head of the Mahratta confederacy, he intended to enter the Baroda state governed by a Mahratta dynasty, make a dash at such a rate as would defy pursuit into the Deccan, and raise the true Mahratta provinces. But the Nana could not break through Lord Clyde's net. Tantia found the pursuing columns were closing round him. He made a swift and sudden race through a wild country to the Nerbudda and crossed it. It was a skilful, daring manœuvre. He placed a full turbid river between himself and his pursuers, and he changed the theatre of operations. The best course then to have followed would have been the resolute pursuit of his great object. But he hesitated, and his return to Rajpootana from the Taptee was a fatal blunder. The British troops were now accustomed to endure hardship and make long marches. Brigadier Somerset to overtake Tantia did 230 miles in nine days. Tantia, finding that he could not shake off his pursuers, and that his force decreased in numbers every day, threw himself into the jungle, was betrayed and captured. He was tried by court-martial for having been in rebellion, and for having waged war against the British Government, was found guilty, sentenced justly under the law to death, and paid the full penalty. In the statement giving an account of his career which he dictated when he was a prisoner, he denied all complicity in the Cawnpore massacre. But they are the words of one that is desperate, which are as the

wind. The evidence leaves not a shadow of doubt.

The dispersion of the last strong organised rebel force in Central India marks the close of the main operations for the suppression of the great revolt. It was not, however, till November 1859 that the last body of rebels in Northern Oudh surrendered to a British force, and for some time considerable bands of rebels, who had become bandits, had to be hunted out of the dense jungles and deep glens of Central India. The Bengal army was annihilated, and the authority of the British Government was fully established over the continent. It has been the fashion to write as if the Indian army had thrown off its allegiance, but it was only an important fraction. The Madras army and the Bombay army, with a few exceptions, remained true to their colours. It has been my privilege to record in this volume the patient endurance of privation and fatigue, and the undaunted courage of the Madras Sapper and the Bombay Sepoy. The devotion and loyalty of some even of the Bengal Sepoys is a relief to the terrible features of a reign of terror. Let us also be liberal toward those who so grievously sinned. The bravery and devotion they had shown, and the faithful service the Bengal army had rendered for nearly a century, must not be interred.

Writers and administrators of the time have warmly disputed about the origin of the mutiny of the Bengal soldiers, followed by widespread revolt, and a struggle as furious and relentless

as any recorded in history. Many solutions have been put forward. It was the greased cartridge; it was the land-revenue system; it was the policy of annexation; it was the refusal to allow the right of adoption; it was the lack of discipline in the Bengal army, and the humiliating memories of the First Afghan War; it was the fanaticism of the Brahmin and the Moslem. All these interpretations have been examined by the light of official records and the enormous mass of evidence collected at the time, but to analyse the evidence in these pages, and to state fully the conclusions founded on them, would expand this volume to four.

The First Afghan War was a primary influence. In the East a victory is soon forgotten, but the slightest disaster is exaggerated and remembered. The Cabul disaster was greatly exaggerated. No army perished in Afghanistan, as is so often stated, but a weak brigade was destroyed. Cabul was easily retaken and the guilty city received its due punishment. But Pollock and Nott returned to India, and to the Oriental any retrograde movement means defeat. Five hundred mutilated and crippled camp-followers and sepoys of the destroyed brigade accompanied the march of Pollock's victorious forces. On reaching India they were sent to their homes, and throughout the land they spread the news that English prestige had perished, thus sowing the first tares of the Indian Mutiny.

Soon after the victorious British force left Cabul the belief spread in Afghanistan itself that we had been driven out of the country, and in

every bazaar in India it was accepted as a fact that our armies had been annihilated and our power destroyed. Forty years had not passed since the British Government had become the sovereign paramount of India, and the Chiefs and Princes began to wonder if it were beyond dispute. Their tone became more lofty and arrogant. A generation had not passed since the Mahratta had disputed our supremacy and the Mahratta Court of Gwalior showed itself openly hostile to the interests of the British Government. It had an army of 30,000 men, mainly composed of Brahmin or Rajpoot corps, with a numerous artillery. The army of the Khalsa, or Sikh commonwealth, numbering 70,000 soldiers and 300 guns, loomed formidable on our north-western frontier. During the Afghan War the Sikhs had attempted to corrupt our sepoys and detach them from the service. An invasion of the British Provinces had often been vauntingly talked of in the Punjab. The fame of the British arms had now been diminished. The Sikh State was partly a combination of Hindu sectaries; and an alliance between the Hindu army of Gwalior and the army of the Khalsa to establish Hindu supremacy in Hindustan was no remote possibility. On December 29, 1843, at Maharajpore the English once more encountered the Mahrattas. They fought with all their ancient valour, but after a desperate resistance had to yield to British bayonets. The same day another British force encountered another portion of the Mahratta army at Punniar, twelve miles from Gwalior. It

was well for India that Lord Ellenborough, by his prompt action, destroyed the Gwalior army before the inevitable collision with the Sikhs came.

On the 6th of December 1846, eleven years before the Mutiny, the Punjab Sikh army crossed the Sutlej—an act of war—and the Sikhs fought fiercely on its banks. After a bloody and obstinate contest, in which we only held our own, and two hard-won successes, twenty thousand British troops occupied the capital of the Punjab. Runjeet Singh's young son was put on the throne, and a Regency, with treaty stipulations intended to secure the administration of the Punjab under the general superintendence of British administrators, was established. The new arrangements were bound to be as ineffectual as the English occupation of Afghanistan. The Sikh army had been defeated, not crushed; the Khalsa had submitted, but had not been inspired with the fear or strength of our power. We declared our sojourn to be temporary. No Government of foreigners can afford to treat the title, morality, or durability of its rule as an open question. It leads to fallacies, dangerous illusions, and disappointment.

The Queen-Mother and the Chiefs of the Punjab were soon deep in a plot, not only against the new arrangement, but for the complete destruction of British rule. The Ranee opened secret communication with Cabul, Candahar, and Cashmere. She strove to unite the Princes of Rajpootana and the Mahratta Chiefs in a Hindu conspiracy against the English. She roused the patriotic zeal of the

Sikh troops in the Durbar army. She attempted to destroy the allegiance of our native troops, by troubling the dark spirit of fanaticism which dwelleth in the Oriental mind. She sent emissaries to every native regiment to inform them of the riots which had taken place at Lahore, owing to the killing of a cow by a European soldier. The poisoners of the Sepoy mind succeeded in sowing the seeds of a suspicion that our Government intended to destroy the Brahmin soldier's caste. After the outbreak at Multan in April 1848 the plot was discovered, the Ranee was conveyed across the Sutlej and sent a state-prisoner to Benares. No worse spot could have been chosen than the sacred city, the centre of the hierarchy of Hindu religious fraternities. The Ranee entered into communication with the Mahratta Brahmins who resided there, and through them with the exiled Peshwa and his retinue at Cawnpore. The centre of the conspiracy for Hindu supremacy was transferred from the capital of the Punjab to Cawnpore, Benares, and Poona. The local outbreak at Multan, like the outbreak at Meerut, upset the plan of the leaders of the movement for a simultaneous revolution throughout India. The *émeute* at Multan led to a general rising of the military classes in the Punjab, and the old Sikh army reassembled to fight again for the independence of the Khalsa. The Sikhs hoped that the Bengal troops would join in a war against the Government that they had begun to believe was hostile to their religion. But the canker

of disloyalty, which ultimately destroyed the Bengal army, had not then infected the whole body. At Chillianwalla (January 1849) some of the regiments fought with gallantry, but some by their treachery nearly produced terrible disaster. It was averted by the valour of the British soldier. The treachery of some of the Native Regiments was reported to the Military Board, but no action was taken. The fatal policy of weakness and hush was followed. The Sepoy was flattered, the British soldier ignored. The Asiatic mercenary came to the conclusion that he was the master of India. Soon after the annexation of the Punjab a sepoy in the Province asked an officer what he would do without them.

When after a protracted war-time there came a calm, the Bengal sepoy turned his attention to two subjects which are always of vital interest to the mercenary soldier—pay and privileges. He resented that the victories which his foreign rulers told him he mainly had helped to gain should result in a pecuniary loss to himself. The conversion of the Punjab into a British province entailed the loss of extra allowances, and the sepoys in the Punjab, and those who had been ordered there, quietly agreed to strike for higher pay. The official documents prove that at this time native regiments began to communicate with one another by emissaries on the subject of their real or supposed grievances, and had established by an understood general consent an armed union. The rigid enforcement of a financial resolution passed some

years before, which resulted in a petty economy at the sepoy's cost, increased his annoyance and shook his belief in the good faith of the Government. Five regiments openly evinced a dangerous mutinous spirit; one attempted to seize a strong fortress, and when Sir Charles Napier, by a prompt and daring measure, contrived to extinguish the flame ere it had spread over the Empire, he was told it did not exist. "I have confronted," wrote the Governor-General, "the assertions of the Commander-in-Chief on this head with undisputed facts and with the authority of recorded documents. Fortified by these facts and documents, and my convictions strengthened by the information which the Government commands, I desire to record my entire dissent from the statement that the army has been in mutiny and the Empire in danger." A year after the foregoing was written, the Governor-General requested the 38th Regiment to proceed to Burma. They refused on account of caste prejudice. The Governor-General, and the Commander-in-Chief who succeeded Sir Charles Napier, succumbed. The 38th was not disbanded. In every cantonment it was known that the Governor-General had suffered a repulse. Lord Dalhousie prepared the general enlistment-order, which his successor Lord Canning passed, that in future every recruit of the Bengal army should "at the time of his enlistment distinctly undertake to serve beyond sea, whether within the territories of the Company or beyond them." The order was discussed in every regimental line by

the Brahmin soldier, and it was regarded as a fresh illustration of the intention of Government to destroy their religion and caste. A loyal Native officer, tracing the causes of the Mutiny, stated: "When the old sepoys heard of this order, they were much frightened and displeased. They said: 'Up to this day those men who went to Afghanistan have not been readmitted to caste; how are we to know where the English may not force us to go? They will order us next to London.'" Ten years before the Mutiny a sepoy remarked to an officer in the Punjab, when he heard that Scinde was to be joined to Bengal: "Perhaps there will be an order to join London to Bengal." Lord Canning wrote home that there was no symptom that the enlistment order was unpopular, or that the sepoys enlisted on the old terms regarded it as a first step towards breaking faith with themselves — an instructive instance of a ruler being told only what is pleasant.

The sepoy objected to annexation because each new province added to the Empire widened his sphere of service. But it also increased his power; as each new province was added the cry arose for "more troops." It is too often forgotten that it is possible to arm and discipline too many native troops, which may become a source of difficulty and danger—costly in themselves and doubly costly when they must be watched by European regiments. The Bengal army was gradually increased, while the European force gradually decreased. At the close of Lord Dalhousie's rule the Native army

was 233,000, while the European force numbored 45,322. Lord Dalhousie saw—what Lord Gough had so urgently pressed upon the Government some years before—that this relative proportion of British to native troops was dangerously small. On the 28th of February, the last day he presided at the Council of India, he laid on its table nine minutes containing his views and proposals on military subjects. In these minutes he insisted on the European force as "the essential element of our strength," and advocated "an increase in our European and a substantial decrease in our native army." The recommendations were neglected; the minutes never reached Parliament or the British public, with whom rests the ultimate control of Indian affairs. The result in this case was that owing to the paucity of British troops the principal arsenals and military posts were garrisoned by the Bengal army. Sir Henry Lawrence, the great soldier-statesman, not only called attention to the numerical disproportion of the native to the European force, but also to the system by which they were located. In the Punjab were gathered the British bayonets, between Agra and Calcutta were two European regiments; the newly-annexed kingdom of Oudh was guarded by one weak European regiment. The high military commands of the favoured and formidable Bengal troops were given to men whose only claim rested on seniority. The nerves of discipline were relaxed by the sepoys being encouraged to make frivolous complaints to Headquarters, and they became impatient of any

subordination. The murmurs regarding regimental grievances swelled to seditious clamour. The spirit of discontent and disaffection increased, and when the occasion came it broke into a general revolt. Some of the causes of the Bengal army mutiny are still at work and ought not to be allowed to remain.

Among the many causes to which the great conflagration is attributed, the resentment of the people at the deposition of their princes has been regarded as one of the most important. During the decade preceding the revolt of the Bengal army the Kingdom of Punjab and the Kingdom of Pegu were acquired by conquest. Oudh was annexed on the just ground of intolerable misgovernment. Various chiefships and separate tracts were brought under the sway of the British Government by the vigorous enforcement of the rule that, in cases where natural heirs failed, the sovereignty of subordinate states should not descend to an adopted son but lapse to the paramount authority. Neither the doctrine of escheat nor the practice was new, but it was never so systematically enforced. This policy was regarded as a fresh illustration that the British Government intended to outrage the feelings, laws, and usages of the Hindu people, and that their earth-hunger was insatiable. The majority of the chiefs, though they regarded with suspicion and distrust the confiscation of kingdoms, did not join in the revolt. The native officers made a blunder when they waited on the Moghul Emperor in the Imperial Hall of Special Audience and "promised to establish his rule throughout the

whole country." The great Hindu chiefs had no incentive to restore the paramount power of the Moghul Cæsars. The great principalities of Rajpootana, who for some centuries had maintained a gallant struggle against the Delhi sovereigns, had no desire to be again under the obligations of allegiance, tribute, and military service to the Moghul Emperor. They also had not forgotten the extortions and indignities of the Mahratta predatory rulers, and they had no wish to revive the power of the Mahratta Confederacy. The powerful lieutenants of the Great Moghuls, like the Nizam, who had carved out independent kingdoms, had no inclination to be again in the tight grip of the Moghul central power. They, too, remembered the time when the Mahratta pillaged the land, ransacked cities, and annexed fertile provinces. No ruler had any desire to taste the bitterness of military tyranny.

The chiefs and princes had a difficult and delicate part to play. They had in their civic courts nobles who were anxious that they should join in the destruction of the British power. Certain of them had large bodies of troops, commanded and trained by British officers and recruited from the same class as the Bengal sepoy, who were on the verge if not in the throes of rebellion. They had to deal with a priesthood fomenting hatred against the Nazarene. They confronted the dangers which beset them with firmness and dexterity, and they overcame them by a resolute bearing, the fidelity of their own troops and the feeling of reverence

and loyalty which Orientals have for a personal sovereign. In this volume is told how Maharaja Scindia, a born soldier, amidst many trials and temptations, was found faithful in the hour of need. The suspicion and distrust which the doctrine of escheat had created had been removed by the distinguished cordiality with which Lord Canning welcomed the young sovereign when he visited Calcutta, and the most emphatic assurance that the Governor-General gave him that the British Government would ever rejoice in the prosperity of the Gwalior State under the rule of its hereditary chief. In these pages are also recorded the important services rendered by the great chiefs of Rajpootana, representatives of ancient houses. The Mutiny revealed to us the advantage of native states as (to use the words of Lord Canning) "breakwaters to the storm which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave." At the close of the storm the native chiefs saw clearly that the British Government was the paramount power in India, and that the maintenance of their rights and interests was identical with British supremacy. By the valour of her soldiers, by the ministry of the brave military and civil officers of the East India Company, Queen Victoria became in fact Empress of India.

A new era was introduced in India by the Queen's Proclamation (1st November 1858), which announced that "We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own sub-

jects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government." The "adoption Sanad" which Lord Canning gave to the chiefs were in accordance with the Queen's utterances. The royal warrants stated that "Her Majesty being desirous that the governments of the several princes and chiefs of India, who now govern their own territories, should be perpetuated, and that the representation and dignity of their houses should be continued," conveyed to them the assurance that in the case of the Hindu states the succession of an adopted son would be confirmed, and in the case of Mahomedan states any succession legitimate according to the Mahomedan law. "Be assured," were the closing words of the Sanad, "that nothing shall disturb the engagement just made to you so long as your house is loyal to the crown and faithful to the condition of the treaties, grants, and engagements which records its obligations to the British Government." The influence of the Sanads extended far beyond those who received them. "There is a reality in the suzerainty of the sovereign of England," wrote Lord Canning, "which has never existed before, and which is not only felt but eagerly acknowledged by the chiefs." The reality grew stronger as the long and beneficent reign advanced, and the chiefs became acquainted with the private and personal virtues of a queen whose wish was to see them strong and their subjects prosperous. Twenty years after the Mutiny, on the historic plain of Delhi, the Viceroy, surrounded by

the great chiefs and princes of the continent, formally proclaimed Her Majesty the Queen to be Empress of India, and thus permanently and publicly fixed Her Majesty's suzerain power in India. King Edward by his fine tact and wide sympathetic nature made the great chiefs feel proud of being royal feudatories of a sovereign whose dominion extends to every quarter of the globe. On the 12th of December 1911, at the imperial city, the King Emperor and Queen Empress were crowned in Durbar, and the chiefs and princes of India did homage to a crown older and more illustrious than any Moghul Cæsar's.

Although the impartial historian must acknowledge the propriety of some of Lord Dalhousie's annexations, and record with gratitude the valuable assistance rendered us by the great chiefs in the suppression of the rebellion, he must also record the fact that the policy of annexation carried out under the doctrine of lapse supplied fresh vigour and new leaders to the conspirators who had been working for the restoration of the Peshwa and the destruction of the paramount power. The King of Oudh, the Begum of Oudh, and the Ranee of Jhansi joined it because they saw a chance of recovering lost dominions. It is impossible to trace exactly the form and working of the conspiracy, but there is sufficient evidence to show that the Nana and these leading conspirators communicated and corresponded. Azimoolah Khan, a clever Mahomedan adventurer, who, as we have mentioned in the first volume of this work, had

been to London and the Crimea just after the repulse of the allies, was the chief channel of communication between the Mahomedan and Brahmin conspirators. Both the Mahomedan and the Hindu sepoy had to be won over for the success of the conspiracy. John Lawrence, in his letter on the trial of the King of Delhi, states that "the mutiny was not attributable to any external conspiracy whatever"; a mass of Sepoy correspondence had been inspected, the records of the Moghul palace had been ransacked, "and yet no trace of such a detailed plan" was found. It is strange that Lord Lawrence with all his experience should not have known that the correspondence of the leaders of the conspiracy would not be intrusted to the public post, but conveyed by private hands such as fakeers and other religious mendicants who were the agents of the disaffected. It was these missionaries of sedition who, working underneath the surface, passed up and down the country foretelling ruin, disaster, and the wrath of God, and announcing the near destruction of a power that was destroying their religion and their caste. They revived the memory of the old prophecy that the iron age of British supremacy would last only a century after the rout of Plassey (1757).

Ominous symptoms of unrest and agitation now began to appear among the masses. It is a difficult task to decide to what extent the revolt can be connected with popular discontent. "In no case," says John Lawrence, "did popular tumult

precede the military outbreak; but invariably where it occurred at all, it ensued upon a mutiny, like cause following effect." But in some cases after the mutiny of the troops at Meerut and the capture of Delhi, the populace rose before the sepoys. The religious mendicant who caused people to believe that "the English are people who overthrew all religions," aroused the fanatical passions of the rural classes; but there were other forces at work, and other questions involving their rights and interests in the soil, which excited them. After the annexation of Oudh the rights and position of the barons of the kingdom, as we have shown in the first volume, were ignored. With a few exceptions the Talookdars went against us, and—what is most important to remember—the people followed them *en masse.* The settlement of Oudh had been founded on the lines of the settlement of the older and bordering North-Western Provinces. When we gained these provinces we found numerous village proprietary bodies whose title we maintained, and we also found proprietors of large estates built up of numerous villages, often of villages the original proprietary bodies of which had placed themselves under these proprietors for the sake of protection against the exactions concurrent with misrule. The power and influence of these superior proprietors were a factor of immense importance, demanding careful handling in the settlement of a large province by a new power. Sir Auckland Colvin, who had spent his official life in the province

and governed it for five years, tells us—"Not a few who at the commencement of British rule had owned large estates now found themselves ousted." Many of these ancient titles had been adjudged defective. The administrators of the Upper Provinces, driving at the welfare of the actual cultivator or the occupying owner, also made the mistake of ignoring the inferior proprietor, whose goodwill it was their interest to win. The British Government introduced the power of public and private sale—a power which was formerly unknown—and the estates of families of rank fell into the hands of shopkeepers and money-lenders. A "Magistrate and Collector" in charge of a large district at the time informs us—"These men, in a vast majority of instances, were also absentees, fearing or disliking to reside on their purchases, where they were looked upon as interlopers and unwelcome intruders. The ancient proprietary of these alienated estates were again living as tenantry on the lands once theirs; by no means reconciled to their change of position, but maintaining their hereditary hold as strong as ever over the sympathies and affections of the agricultural body, who were ready and willing to join their feudal superiors in any attempt to recover their lost position and regain possession of their estates." When the province was in a blaze, the old proprietors strove to eject the moneyed classes who had supplanted them, and they were assisted by their former tenants.

It required a small spark to kindle a blaze in a society passing through a period of religious and

economic unrest. The greased cartridge which the Mahomedan and Brahmin sepoy honestly believed to have been greased with the fat of swine or of the cow, was the spark which fell on combustible materials. The Government refused to believe that they had to deal with a genuine feeling of discontent founded on a substantial grievance. At Meerut the sepoys who would not receive their cartridges were treated as criminals, and with unnecessary degradation delivered up to the penalties of military law. On Sunday, the fatal 10th of May, there was a military outbreak at that great and important cantonment. Then fanaticism, bigotry, reverence of caste, poverty, and discontent with land settlements blazed out, and flames of consuming fire swept over the land.

Fifty years have passed since the great revolt. The land is again passing through a state of transformation, economic, intellectual, and religious, the same dark and mysterious forces are stirring beneath the surface. The story of the Mutiny conveys many lessons how the problems of the future should be solved and in what spirit they should be faced. Power and strength there must always be to discipline peace. The crowning of the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress at the imperial city is a noble and chivalrous endeavour to bind the myriads of India, not by the bonds of material improvement and administrative efficiency, but by the living roots of faith, hope, charity, and loyalty.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 69, line 5. *For* Robinson *read* Robertson.
" 100, " 26. Quotation closes after "name."
" 140, " 25. Quotation closes at end of paragraph instead of after word "matters."
" 404, 414, 415 sidenote. *For* 1858 *read* 1857.

HISTORY OF THE INDIAN MUTINY

CHAPTER I.

Bundelcund.

BUNDELCUND, or the country of the Bundelas,[1] is a strip of country about half the size of Scotland, lying south and south-west of the Jumna, and separated by that river from the wide open Gangetic plain. Both on physical and ethnical grounds it should naturally be included among the States of Central India. During the expiring convulsions of the Muhammadan Empire, one of the Mahratta free-lances seized the State of Jhansi, a fragment of Bundelcund, and had his claim by conquest confirmed by a Sanad from his Master, the Peshwa. He and his successors governed it, under the title of Subahdar,[2] as a vassal of the Peshwa. In 1817 the Peshwa ceded the State of Jhansi to the British, and its new rulers acknowledged the

Jhansi.

State ceded to the British (1817).

[1] Bundelas, a tribe who claim to be Rajputs. They give a name to the province of Bundelkhand (corruptly Bundelcund). They are descended from the Garhwars of Kantit and Khairagarh, and first settled in Bundelkhand in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.—Balfour's "Cyclopaedia of India."

[2] Subahdar. *Sūbah*, a province—*Sūbahdār*, the governor of a province. As a military term, Subahdar is the highest grade of native officer.

hereditary title of the local ruler, and fifteen years later advanced him to the dignity of Rajah. In 1835 he died, after having adopted a son. Sir Charles Metcalfe, then Governor of Agra, however decided that in the case of chiefs who may hold lands or enjoy revenues under grants such as are issued by Sovereigns to subjects, the power which made the grant had a right to resume it on failure of heirs-male. The British Government refused to recognise the adopted son, and selected a great-uncle to succeed to the principality. He was an incapable leper and, having oppressed and misgoverned for three years, he died childless. After an investigation by a Commission of the pretensions of several claimants, the British Government selected the brother of the deceased Rajah to be his successor. Meanwhile oppression and disorder had become so rampant in the State that the British Government had to do what they have had to do in the case of many Native States—undertake its direct management. And with the same result. After establishing order and reforming every branch of the administration and developing the revenues of the State, they handed over the immediate control of the principality to the Rajah whom they had selected. He governed for eleven years with little ability and less energy. No son was born to him, but on his death-bed (1853) he adopted a son. His widow, who united the martial spirit of the Mahratta soldier with the subtlety of the Deccan Brahmin, demanded the succession for the boy. Colonel Low, one of the Members of Council who

Question regarding the succession.

British undertake direct management.

The Rajah restored.

He dies without heirs.

had opposed the annexation of the great central tract of India known as Nagpore, clearly pointed out in a Minute the distinction between Sovereign Native States and Dependent Native States. "The Native rulers of Jhansi," he wrote, "were never Sovereigns, they were only subjects of a Sovereign, first of the Peshwa, and latterly of the Company: the Government now had a full right to annex the lands of Jhansi to the British administration." Lord Dalhousie declared in an official paper that "as the Rajah had left no heir of his body, and there was no male heir of any Chief or Rajah who had ruled the principality for half a century, the right of the British Government to refuse to acknowledge the present adoption was unquestionable." The Governor-General had also to consider the widespread misery brought upon the people of the State by the first two rulers we had placed in power, and he held "that sound policy combines with duty in urging that the British Government in the case of Jhansi should act upon its right, should refuse to recognise the adoption, and should take possession of Jhansi as an escheat." The Court of Directors, who had laid down the principle that the right of adoption, while creating a right to inherit the private property and personal status of a deceased Dependent Native Prince, did not carry with it the right to succeed to his political functions, nor to the Government of the State, except by the consent of the Paramount Power, concurred in the views of the Governor-General, and Jhansi was brought under the direct adminis-

The question of adoption.

Jhansi annexed.

tration of the Government of India. An ample pension[1] was granted to the widow of the late Rajah: and she was called upon to pay the debts of her late husband. The Ranee protested in vain against the decision of the Government, and the Mahratta Queen, tall in stature, handsome in person, young, energetic, proud and unyielding, from that moment indulged the stern passions of anger and revenge. The news of the Mutiny at Meerut on the 18th of May inspired her with the hope of gratifying them. She dexterously employed religious mendicants, the dark engines of fanaticism always to be found in India, to fan among the people the embers of religious hate caused by the open slaughter of kine for the purpose of food amid a Hindu population. She used them to increase the fear and religious passion which had been aroused among the sepoys by the question of the greased cartridges, and to scatter among them the seeds of disloyalty and contention. Though we had lately annexed a country with a brave and turbulent population, there were no English troops to guard its capital. There was a detachment of foot

The Ranee of Jhansi.

[1] "The British Government regarded her anger and her remonstrances with careless indifference. They did what was worse, they added meanness to insult. On the confiscation of the State they had granted to the widowed Ranee a pension of £6000 a-year. The Ranee had first refused, but had ultimately agreed to accept this pension. Her indignation may be imagined when she found herself called upon to pay out of a sum which she regarded as a mere pittance the debts of her late husband."—Kaye and Malleson, "History of the Indian Mutiny." Six thousand pounds per annum can be hardly regarded as a mere pittance. Eight thousand was the sum granted to the Peshwa.

artillery, the left wing of the 12th Regiment of Native Infantry, the headquarters and the right wing of the 14th Irregular Cavalry. Captain Dunlop of the 12th commanded the garrison, and Captain Alexander Skene was the Political Officer in charge of the State. The troops were cantoned a little distance from the walled city, which was overlooked by a fortress on a high granite rock or kopje. Near the walls of the town were several large temples and groves of tamarind-trees, and on the east and west were belts of high basalt hills. A short distance away to the south lay the bungalows of the officials, the jail, the Star Fort occupied by the artillery who guarded the treasure-chests, and the lines of the men. On the afternoon of the 1st of June a company of the 12th Regiment of Native Infantry "raised the standard of revolt and invited all men of the *deen* (religion) to flock to their standard, offering to remunerate each man for his services at the rate of twelve rupees per month."[1] They marched into the Star Fort and took possession of it. Captain Dunlop, of whom Sir Hugh Wheeler had reported that "he was a man for the present crisis,"[2] at once paraded the rest of the 12th and the cavalry, and they said they would stand by him. That night Captain Burgess, Ensign Taylor, Quartermaster-Sergeant Newton, and Lieutenant Turnbull of the Revenue Survey slept in the lines of the 12th Regiment Native Infantry, and Lieu-

Garrison of Jhansi in 1857.

Mutiny of the left wing of the 12th Regiment Native Infantry, June 1, 1857.

[1] "Written Deposition of a Native of Bengal."

[2] Captain P. G. Scot's "Report."

tenant Campbell slept in the lines of the Irregular Cavalry. Nothing occurred. The men were again paraded in the morning, and renewed their professions of devotion to their officers. Captain Dunlop spent the morning at the quarter-guard preparing shells for his intended assault on the Star Magazine. In the afternoon, as he was returning from the Post Office accompanied by Ensign Taylor,[1] he was saluted on nearing the parade by shots from some men of his regiment. Dunlop fell dead and Taylor severely wounded. "Two havildars and a sepoy hid the latter under a charpoy (bed), but to no purpose."[2] The troopers, following the lead of the infantry, shot Lieutenant Campbell who was attached to them.[3] But though wounded he kept his seat on his fleet charger which enabled him by overleaping a gate to escape into the fort without further injury."[4] Lieutenant Turnbull, "so warm-hearted and anxious to do good and to benefit others, was on foot and failed to reach the fort. He took refuge in a tree, was seen to climb it and was shot down." The mutineers breaking up into bands proceeded to set fire to the bungalows and to release the convicts from the jail. A party consisting of 50 sowars and 300 sepoys then approached the town, with two guns and a number of customs

[1] The young lad had been with his brothers, and had made great haste to rejoin on the mutinies breaking out at other stations. He reached Jhansi a few days before he was slain.

[2] "Written Deposition of a Native of Bengal."

[3] "Lieutenant Campbell of the 15th Native Infantry, the only officer present with the 14th Irregulars."—Captain P. G. Scot's "Report."

[4] "Written Deposition of a Native of Bengal."

and police chuprassees[1] led by the jail daroga[2] in their train, and the doors of the Orcha gate were thrown open to them to the cry of *deen ka jai.*[3] The Ranee placed guards at her gate and shut herself up in her palace. Captain Gordon sent an urgent message soliciting her assistance at this crisis, but this was refused, as the mutineers threatened to put her to death and to set fire to her palace in case of her compliance with Captain Gordon's request. The Ranee's guards then joined the mutineers. The whole body now marched towards the Town Fort with the intention of taking it by assault, but when they drew near it the garrison received them with such a well-directed fire that they fell back in confusion.

The siege of the Town Fort.

The garrison, including women and children, were only 55 in number. Lieutenant Turnbull of the Revenue Department and some of his European and Eurasian subordinates resided in the fort. When the mutineers seized the Star Magazine, and to stay in cantonments was fraught with considerable danger, the permanent residents were joined by Major Skene, his wife and two children; Captain Gordon of the Madras Native Infantry;

[1] Chuprassy, H. *chaprāsī*, the bearer of a *chaprās*, *i.e.*, a badge plate inscribed with the name of the office to which the bearer is attached. The *chaprāsī* is an office-messenger or henchman bearing such a badge on a cloth or leather belt.—"Hobson Jobson," by Colonel Henry Yule, R.E., C.B., and A. C. Burnell, Ph.D., C.I.E.

[2] Daroga, P. and H. *dārōghā*. "The chief Native Officer in various departments under the native government, a superintendent, a manager, but in later times he is especially the head of a police, customs, or excise station."—H. H. Wilson, q. in "Hobson Jobson."

[3] *Deen ka jai*—*i.e.*, Victory to the faith !

Dr McEgan, 12th Bengal Native Infantry, and his wife; Lieutenant Powys, 61st Bengal Native Infantry, on Civil Employ in the Canal Department, his wife and child; Mrs Browne, wife of Dr Browne, Deputy Commissioner of Jalowan,[1] and her child and sister, and the English and Eurasian subordinates in the different departments of the Government. Dunlop and his comrades immediately proceeded to lay in provisions, arms, and ammunition. They piled up huge stones behind the gates to prevent their being burst open. The women assisted the men "in cooking for them, sending them refreshments, and casting bullets." The scanty garrison were able by skilful concentration and a well-directed volley to scatter their assailants when they made their first assault, but they had neither guns nor provisions to withstand a regular siege. The besiegers were busy during the night in planting their guns for their next attack. The besieged held a council of war. It was decided to send three of the garrison to the Ranee to ask her to use her influence to enable them to proceed unmolested to some place of refuge within British territory. The following morning Messrs Andrews, Purcell, and Scott issued from the fort, disguised as Mussulmans, with the intention of seeing the Queen and obtaining her aid, but the feint being discovered the gentlemen were taken to her palace. She did not even condescend to honour them with an interview,

[1] Jalaun is the Northern District of the Jhansi Division, situated in the tract of country west of the Jumna known as Bundelkhand. —Hunter's "Imperial Gazetteer of India."

but ordered them to be carried before the mutinous resseldar[1] for orders. Her words were to the effect "she had no concern with the English swine." This was a signal of death. "The three gentlemen were then dragged out of the palace. Mr Andrews was killed before the very gate of the Ranee's residence by Jharoo Comar's son, supposed to be a personal enemy of his, and the other two were despatched beyond the walls of the town." In the afternoon a second attempt was made to surprise the fort by breaking open a gate, but the besieged succeeded in repelling the invaders, who retreated after stationing guards at the gateway as they had done the preceding day.

The small garrison hold their foes at bay.

The mutineers now began to plunder indiscriminately not only the houses of Europeans but also of some of the leading natives in the town. "The Bengalees were specially singled out for vengeance, because one of them, the post office Writer, had concealed Mr Fleming in his house, and the mutineers had succeeded in tracing him out and murdering him in the Baboo's house." They threatened the Ranee with instant death, as the Bengalee witness tells us, if she refused to throw in her lot with the rebels. "She accordingly consented, and supplied them with a reinforcement of 1000 men, and two heavy guns which she had ordered to be dug out of the earth. They had been buried three years ago." During the night

[1] "Resseldar," Ar. P. H. *Risāladār*. Now applied to the native officer who commands a *ressala* or troop in one of our regiments of Irregular Horse.—"Hobson Jobson," by Yule and Burnell.

they and the guns of smaller calibre from the cantonment were placed in position, and all opened next morning, but they made little impression on the walls of the fort. The marksmen, however, so galled the garrison that "Captain Gordon was shot through the head when he exposed himself at the parapet."[1] The besieged answered vigorously, and Skene and Burgess being good shots their rifles laid many low. For hours the little band held their foes at bay. Then they had to contend not only against the enemy without but with traitors within their gates. A native who was inside the fort states "that Lieutenant Powys was found by Captain Burgess and others lying bleeding from a wound in the neck, and was able to say that four men beside him had attacked him—the four were immediately put to death." The native informant who was in the city says that Lieutenant Powys saw a khitmutgar (table servant) of Captain Burgess attempt to pull down the stones that

Traitors within their gates.

[1] "A native who was in the fort said he was kneeling over pulling up a bucket some syce (groom) in the lower enclosure had filled with wheat. A native who was in the city at the time said he was firing at the assailants; but both agreed that he (Captain Gordon) was shot in the head when exposing himself at the parapet."—Captain P. G. Scot's "Report."

Mrs Mutlow in her statement writes: "Monday, about eight o'clock in the morning, Mr Gordon was shot, that Regiment Subadar wrote to Captain Skene to come out of the fort saying, 'we will not kill any of you, we will send you all to your own country'; so Captain Skene wrote to the Ranee to tell the sepoys to take their oath and to sign her name on the letter, all the Hindoos took their oath: 'if any of us touch your people just as we eat beef'; and those Mussulmans took their oath 'if any of us touch you just as we eat pork.' And the Ranee signed her name on the top of the letter and it was given to Captain Skene. As soon as he read the note every one was agreed to it."

closed the fort gates and shot him, that this man's brother cut Lieutenant Powys down with his tulwar, and was instantly shot down by Captain Burgess.[1] The supply of ammunition was now nearly exhausted, and the stock of provisions seriously diminished. There was no hope of succour. The men might die fighting their way out. But the women and children had to be considered. Reluctantly they "were induced to open the gates, relying on the most solemn promises made to Major Skene that the lives of all would be spared."[2] About 4 or 5 P.M. the news spread through the town that the garrison were coming down from the fort. "I also went to the gateway," says a native servant; "when my master with Mem Sahib and other officers came down, I saluted him and could not help weeping. The sowars and sepoys pelted us with stones and obliged us to separate. All the officers went to one side, and the servants joined me." Men, women, and children were taken to a garden near the city and all were slaughtered without mercy. Three days after the bodies were gathered together

Induced to open the gates.

Slaughter of men, women, and children.

[1] The Bengalee says, "then a kherkie or secret door was treacherously thrown open by the natives within. Captain Powys shot and killed one of the traitors, but was shot dead in return by the brother of the man he had slain. The handful of Europeans in the fort were now for a moment paralysed—they know not how to overcome such odds from within and without. They, however, mustered courage, and when they observed that a rush was made from outside through the passage, they all ascended the terrace of a high building in the fort, and thence kept firing on the enemy below. The latter then proposed a parley, promising to allow the Europeans to quit the fort unmolested provided they surrendered themselves and their arms to them."

[2] Captain P. G. Scot's "Report."

and buried in a pit. Skene, while he was awaiting the last stroke, told a sepoy who was standing beside him "that it was idle for the mutineers to hope that England would be denuded of all her bold sons by the destruction of the handful of men that were now at their mercy." On the accursed city which had sinned with the sepoys the wrath of the bold and patient British soldier was not long in falling.

Nowgong, June 1857.

About two hundred miles eastward of Jhansi lies the station of Nowgong, which was garrisoned at the time by the right wing and headquarters 12th Regiment Native Infantry (strength about 400 bayonets), the left wing of the 14th Irregular Cavalry (strength about 219 men), and the 4th company 9th battalion of Native Artillery (strength about 66 men), with No. 18 Light Field Battery attached. The force thus mainly consisted of regiments which had one wing stationed at Jhansi. At the end of April the disaffection showed itself as at Barrackpore and Meerut in incendiary fires. Thirteen days after the outbreak at Meerut (May 10th) the Native Officer Commanding the Cavalry told Major Kirke, who commanded the station, that his corps had learned by letter from Delhi that every Christian there had been murdered. "He appeared to wonder at the little the Europeans knew of affairs in Delhi, while his men and himself were in communication with the place. His neglect, or disobedience of orders, a few hours after was very suspicious; and from that night the men and officers, by their demeanour, awoke strong dis-

trust in our minds." No sign of it was, however, shown to the troopers. The officers visited their pickets and during the day went to the lines and talked with the native officers: "they were received with freezing politeness." The 12th Native Infantrymen and the artillery, however, "liked the arrangements very much; they were greatly gratified by the confidence in them shown by the officers who slept among them." Major Kirke reported to Major-General Sir Hugh Wheeler, Commanding the Division, that the men were well disposed and pleased. The General replied that the report was highly satisfactory. On the 30th of May it was reported to Major Kirke that mutiny was being openly plotted in the artillery lines. Four men who were named by the native officer as being most active in propagating sedition were dismissed from the Company's service, and the Commandant ordered that the guns of the battery should be placed every night in front of the quarter-guard of the 12th Native Infantry. "I think," writes an officer, "that the men of the company felt affronted and humiliated by this measure."

On the 4th of June four out of the five companies of the wing of the 12th Native Infantry sent a petition stating they were anxious to be led against the rebels. At 11 A.M. a letter brought by express was put into the hands of Major Kirke. It was from Dunlop at Jhansi, written at 4 P.M. the previous afternoon. "The artillery and infantry have broken into mutiny and have entered the Star Fort. No one has been hurt yet. Look

out for stragglers." Kirke at once summoned the native officers of the 12th Native Infantry: he expressed his pleasure at the receipt of the petition and told them that he would report their loyalty to the Governor-General. The native officers, having again warmly asserted their fidelity, were told of the mutiny at Jhansi. They at once wrote a letter to their regimental comrades reproaching them for their conduct, imploring them to return to their allegiance, and informing them that they intended to fight against the rebels. "The letter was at once despatched by express." That afternoon the troops were paraded in undress, the right wing at its own lines, the artillery company half-way between its lines and those of the 12th, the wings of the irregulars in their lines. "The 12th and artillery were then separately asked if they would stand by the Government: when it came to the turn of the artillery company the old subahdar expressed at once his loyalty to Government with a boldness and enthusiasm that did him high honour. It was a fine sight to see that old man of fifty years' service, struggling with the difficulty of weakened lungs and organs of speech time had impaired, to proclaim loudly a loyalty most of those about him had no great sympathy with; they, however, followed his example, and seized hold of the Queen's Colour of the 12th, which was at hand, and said they would be loyal; on their return to their lines they embraced their guns, and were enthusiastic about their loyalty." During their absence from the guns. Seetaram (a non-commis-

sioned officer) stood beside them with spikes and a hammer ready to spike them in case of the company mutinying."[1] The officers were much gratified at the conduct of the men, and word of it was sent to Jhansi. Two parties of the 14th Irregulars, consisting of forty sowars, each under a native officer, were also despatched to Jhansi and Fatehpore, the chief town of a district of the same name in the Jhansi Division. On the 7th of June a report was received from the Officer Commanding the Jhansi detachment stating that he had halted at Mowraneepore (thirty miles from Nowgong) on hearing that all the Europeans at Jhansi had been murdered. Two days later a shepherd came into the cantonment and told them that Dunlop and Taylor had been shot on the Jhansi parade. "The 12th at Nowgong seemed horrified at the news: most certainly many of them were sincerely so; and that night the men of the artillery volunteered to serve against the rebels." The next morning a letter came from the Native Magistrate at Mowraneepore saying that he had heard of the murder of every European at Jhansi, that he had received a perwannah (order) to the effect that the Ranee of Jhansi was seated on the guddee (throne), and that he was to carry on business as hitherto." At sunset the six artillery guns were, according to the recent order, brought before the quarter-guard of the infantry. The new guards were being marched off to relieve the old ones, when a number of the

[1] "Letter from Captain P. G. Scot," dated Rewah, August 16th, 1857.

Mutiny of the right wing of the 12th Regiment Native Infantry, June 10, 1857.

men began to load, and three Sikhs stepped to the front. Kana, "a tall dare-devil," fired at the native non-commissioned officer and shot him dead. They then made a rush at the guns. "The sergeant, Raite by name, drew his sword and was fired at; I think one of the artillerymen interceded to save him." The native gunners not only did nothing to protect their guns, but in about a minute's time they fired grape at the tents on parade that the officers slept in, and subsequently two rounds more at the officers.

The officers, who were assembled at the mess-house, instantly hurried down to the lines. They found groups of panic-stricken sepoys. They could not induce them to advance on the guns. A party of the mutineers assembled in front of the mess-house with one gun, and Major Kirke, finding that the men who were with him would not act on the offensive, ordered the officers to abandon the cantonment. Accompanied by a large number of women and children, and some eighty sepoys who had remained faithful to their Colours, they set forth for Chutterpore, the capital of a small State of the same name. They had not gone far when they took the wrong road. It, however, soon fell dark, and as they were concealed from the cantonment by a hill they made an attempt to regain the main road by striking across country, but they found the ground impassable. This was the luckiest incident that happened to them. The troopers, after they had burnt the bungalows, had gone forth in quest of them, and were scouring the main thoroughfares

The officers, accompanied by a large number of women and children, set forth for Chutterpore.

for them. "They had reproached the infantry for not having slain us." Guided by a native boatman, the fugitives made their way through the solid blackness of the night and arrived at Chutterpore as the dawn began to break. The State was governed by a Ranee, who treated them with considerable kindness, though some of her chief officers were Muhammadans and seemed to sympathise with the rebels. "They told us that a message had come from Nowgong that the troops had risen for *deen* (religion), and that the Ranee must not shelter us." But the Ranee not only remained firm in her determination to shelter them, but sent out troops to protect them when there was an alarm that the rebels were approaching. After enjoying her hospitality for two days the fugitives set forth for Allahabad. On the morning of the 15th they reached Mahoba. "The Rajah was very kind and hospitable to us. Next morning we left under an escort furnished by the Ranee of Nowgong." During the day news having reached them of the mutiny at Banda and at Hamirpore, the chief town of a district in the Allahabad Division, they determined to change their route. On the night of the 17th they started for Mirzapore or Chanar, and after a long tramp they encamped under some hills near a pass which ran through two hills. Their guide had led them into a trap. A body of bandits held the pass, and demanded a round sum of money before they would let them go through it. By the advice of the native officers it was paid. Next morning, however, as they were

Treated with kindness by the Ranee of Chutterpore and the Rajah of Mahoba.

The fugitives start for Mirzapore.

Attacked by bandits.

on the point of leaving their camp, the bandits opened fire on them. "The sepoys, numbering from eighty to ninety men, replied for a few minutes with a wild fire, as they could scarcely see an assailant; and at length ten or twelve fell back and could not be got to advance. Lieutenant Townsend waited with Lieutenant Ewart, myself, and two or three sepoys, at a tree, firing at any men we could see. He showed the most perfect courage amid the confusion and the fire, which was brisk; and I regret very greatly to say that he was shot through the heart, and died in about half a minute, merely exclaiming, 'O God! I am hit.' The main body was far off, in a hopeless and rapid retreat that the officer was vainly trying to stop or slacken; and I had to leave this brave young man's body where it fell."[1] The small band fell back, keeping the bandits who pursued them at a distance by turning on them frequently. When they again crossed the Chutterpore border the pursuit ceased. The fugitives pressed forward, but their progress was slow, as the women and children were on foot. "Before two o'clock Major Kirke, the Sergeant-Major Lascar, and Mrs Smalley, the wife of the Bandmaster, all died of sunstroke or apoplexy." The Major alone was buried, "the sepoys helping with their bayonets to dig his grave." At 3 P.M. they entered the village of Kabrai. "The men gave out that they were

[1] Captain P. G. Scot's "Report," dated Rewah, August 16th, 1857. This Report differs in some respects from the Report, dated Nagode, July 28th, 1857.

rebels, taking us to the Banda Nawab to be killed by the King of Delhi's orders; they feared to escort us otherwise."[1] When dusk fell the sepoys told their officers that the ruse had been discovered, that they could protect them no further, and that they must make their way by themselves. "This was said sadly and respectfully." As soon as it was dark the majority of the party again set forth for Banda.[2] On the morning of the 25th of June they were attacked by some villagers. They had only nine horses amongst them, and "we were all crippled for action by having some one behind us or a child before." Scot's horse was struck by a spear and instantly set off at full gallop. He had Mrs Mawe's child before him and the Bandmaster behind, and so was unable to stop him. He was followed by Lieutenant Remington and Ensign Franks. They wandered under the glare of a June sun in the glittering heat of a brown parched land till they saw a ravine with some water. "We all rode towards it; the descent was very steep, we all dismounted and had a drink." The horses were getting water when two armed villagers appeared and bade them be off. Mounting their horses they rode away. Dr Mawe and his wife, however, fell

[1] Captain P. G. Scot's "Report," dated Nagode, July 28th, 1857. Appendix A.

[2] Some of the Europeans and all the Eurasians elected to remain behind. "The party that moved on consisted of (Captain Scot), Lieutenants Ewart, Barber, Jackson, Remington, and Franks; Dr Mawe, 12th Native Infantry, and Mrs Mawe and child; Mr Harvey Kirke; Mrs Smalley [*sic*] and child; and Sergeant Kirchoff and his wife."—Captain P. G. Scot's "Report," dated Nagode, July 28th, 1857.

Dr Mawe and his wife left behind.

off their horse as they were starting, and were left behind. "We sat down on the ground awaiting our death, for we felt sure they would come and murder us; poor fellow, he was very weak, and his thirst frightful; I said I would go and bring some water in my dress and his cap. Just as I was leaving him the two villagers came down; they took eighty rupees from him which he had round his waist, and his gold watch. I had on a handsome guard-ring, which they saw. I went towards the nullah and drew off my wedding-ring, and, twisting it in my hair, replaced my guard; they came to me and pulled it off my finger. I tore part of the skirt of my dress to bring the water in, but it was of no use, for when I returned my beloved's eyes were fixed, and though I called and tried to restore him and poured water into his mouth, it only rattled in his throat; he never spoke to me again. I held him in my arms till he sank gradually down. I felt frantic, but could not cry; I knew the being I had idolised nearly fifteen years was gone, and I was alone; so I bound his head and face in my dress, for there was no earth to bury him."[1] The pain in her hands and feet was intense, and she went down to the ravine and sat down on a stone in the water. When night fell she would stagger forth into the darkness and seek her child. In about an hour she was found by some villagers, who took her out of the water. They made her walk to a neighbour-

Death of Dr Mawe.

[1] Mrs Mawe's "Narrative of the Mutiny of the 12th Regiment Native Infantry, at Nowgong."

ing village, and that night they sent her in a dhooly to Banda. "She was met on the way by a palkee the Nawab had sent out when he heard of her being in the village. The Nawab had sent orders to all the villagers round not to injure Europeans." The trooper who accompanied the palkee told her that a little child and three gentlemen were at Banda. "How I hoped it was Lottie. On arrival I found my poor little one; she was greatly blistered from the sun; the officers were Captain Scot and the two young men [1] and the Bandmaster." Soon after Dr Mawe was left behind, Lieutenant J. H. Barber fell dead from his horse. Two days later Lieutenant Ewart also died of sunstroke. As the remainder were drinking water at a village they observed a signal given by one of the rustics. Sergeant Kirchoff was too slow in mounting, and he was stunned with blows and left for dead. Lieutenant Jackson, Mr Harvey Kirke, and Mrs Kirchoff were able to get away. They were well treated when they entered the Adzighur territory; and after resting some days were sent on to Nagode,[2] which they reached on the 29th of June. It was to the protection and kindness of the Ranee of Adzighur and the

The survivors reach Nagode, 29th June 1857.

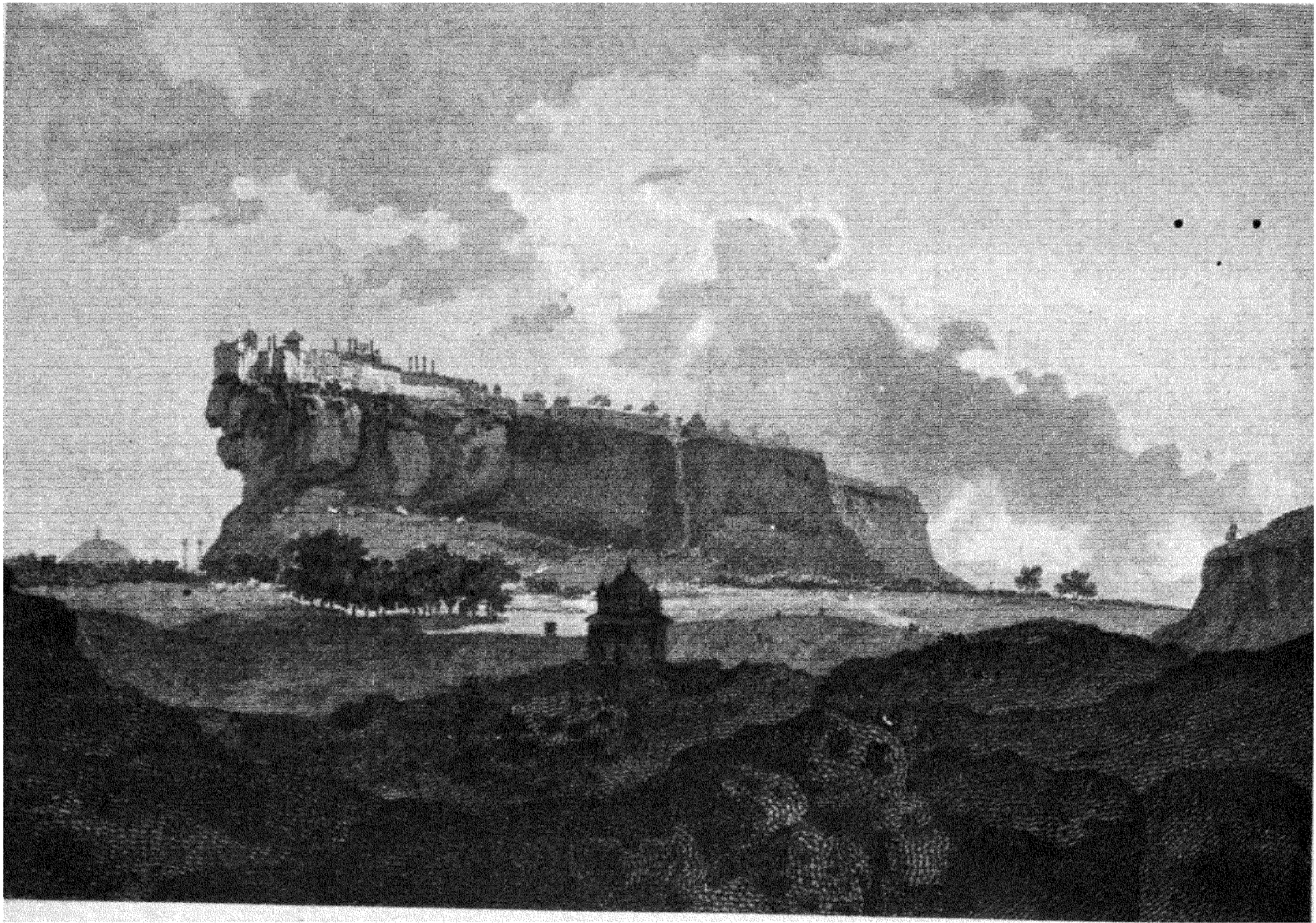
[1] Lieutenants Franks and Remington.

Of the men left behind at Kabrai, forty-one persons—drummers, buglers, and their families—ultimately reached Banda in safety.

[2] Nagode. A military station in the Central Indian Agency, distant a hundred and eight miles from Allahabad. The regiment quartered there in 1857 was the 52nd Native Infantry, which remained loyal till the end of August. They then plundered and burnt the station, but a few faithful sepoys escorted the officers and their families to Mirzapore.

Nawab of Banda that the fugitives from Nowgong owed their lives.

The Nawab had a most difficult part to play. anda. Banda was a military station, garrisoned by detachments from regiments quartered at Cawnpore. At the time of the outbreak at Meerut three companies of the 1st Regiment Native Infantry had recently arrived there from the great military cantonment on the borders of Oudh. On the 14th of June news reached Banda of the revolt at Cawnpore, and the men on detachment duty at once exhibited their mutinous intention at headquarters. An attempt was made to disarm them by the aid of the Nawab's troops, and it failed. The Nawab had, at his peril, given shelter to the women and children in his palace. It was now determined that the Europeans should retire to British territory, which they reached, safely guarded. The mutineers, after plundering and burning the bungalows, started with the treasure and ammunition to join their comrades at Cawnpore. Throughout the little territory of Banda the revolt swiftly spread, and all signs of British supremacy vanished. Never was revolution more rapid, never more complete. Anarchy, murder, and plunder raged in the adjacent districts. The Nawab attempted to frame a government and maintain order, but like Scindia and many other chiefs he was unable to extinguish the flames of religious passion and hate which had been kindled. Left isolated, without power to deal with the threats and the inducements that were held out to him, he was drawn into the vortex of revolt.



THE FORT OF GWALIOR.

In the heart of Hindustan, about eighty miles north of Jhansi and sixty-five miles south of Agra, rises from a wide and arid veldt a vast block of basalt capped with sandstone. On it stands bold and definite, three hundred feet above the plain, the fortress of Gwalior. The ramparts, built above the steep sides perpendicular by nature or art, conform to the outlines of the summit, which is a table-land about a mile and three-quarters in length and half a mile in breadth. "The area within," says an old writer, "is full of noble buildings, reservoirs of water, wells and cultivated land, so that it is really a little district in itself." At the north-east of the plateau is the magnificent palace of the ancient Kings of Gwalior, whose lofty bastions and curtain walls break the line of the ramparts. Here is the main approach, protected on the outside by a massive wall. Seven monumental gates placed at intervals guard the steep ascent which rises from the ancient city that nestles below. Protected by a wall encircling the mountain base, it was in olden days a large and prosperous settlement. Standing in the principal road leading from Agra to Malwa, Gujarat and the Deccan, the fortress of Gwalior was of great strategic importance. The early English travellers used to speak of it as the Gibraltar of the East. Hindu and Muhammadan chiefs contended for the citadel, the possession of which "was deemed as necessary to the ruling Emperors of Hindustan as Dover Castle might be to the Saxon and Norman Kings of England." It was won by stratagem by

Gwalior.

The "Gibraltar of the East."

one of Babar's generals, and the Moghul Emperors used it as "the Bastille of Hindustan." On the disruption of the Moghul Empire it fell into the hands of a petty Jat prince known as the Rana of Gohud. From him it was wrested by the Mahrattas, but in February 1780 Warren Hastings sent a detachment under Major Popham, a gallant and daring officer, to protect the small principality of Gohud from the encroachments of Mahadjee Scindia, the greatest and most active of the Mahratta leaders, whose formidable army, organised under French officers, made him virtual master of Hindustan. Popham, after expelling the Mahrattas from Gohud, assaulted and captured the fortress of Lahar, without a battering ram, by the sheer pluck of his men. He had set his heart on "the glorious object," as he called it, of taking the fortress of Gwalior. He lay about the fort for two months maturing his plan. On the 3rd of August, in the evening, Popham ordered a party to be in readiness to march under the command of Captain William Bruce, and put himself at the head of two battalions which were immediately to follow the storming party. "To prevent, as much as possible, any noise in approaching or descending the rock, a kind of shoes, of woollen cloth, were made for the sepoys, and stuffed with cotton." At eleven o'clock the whole detachment moved out from their camp eight miles from Gwalior. Guided by some neighbouring banditti, they proceeded through unfrequented paths and reached their goal a little before daybreak. Just as Captain Bruce

Capture of the Fort of Gwalior by Major Popham, 3rd August 1780.

arrived at the foot of the rock, he saw the lights which accompanied the rounds moving along the ramparts and heard the sentinels cough. When the lights were gone, the wooden ladders were placed against the rock. One of the bandits first mounted and returned with an account that the guard had retired to sleep. "Lieutenant Cameron, our Engineer, next mounted, and tied a rope-ladder to the battlement of the wall, this kind of ladder being the only one adapted to the purpose of scaling the wall in a body (the wooden ones only serving to ascend the crag of the rock, and to assist in fixing the rope-ladder)." Captain Bruce and twenty sepoys scaled the wall and assembled beneath the parapet. Three sepoys, however, incautiously fired at some of the garrison who lay asleep near them. Instantly an alarm was raised and many of the garrison ran to the spot. But they were stopped by the warm fire kept up by the small party of grenadiers until Major Popham with reinforcements came to their aid. The garrison then retreated to the inner buildings and discharged a few rockets, but soon afterwards retreated precipitately to the gate; whilst the principal officers thus deserted assembled together in one house and hung out a white flag. Major Popham sent an officer to give them assurance of quarter and protection; "and thus in the space of two hours this important and astonishing fortress was completely in our possession; we had only twenty men wounded and none killed." Warren Hastings told the House of Lords that Gwalior

was "taken by a manœuvre which for the secrecy and boldness of its execution equals anything to be met with in history." The Rana claimed possession of the fort and we gave it back to him. He, however, proving unfaithful to the British Government, was abandoned to his fate. In 1784 Mahadjee laid siege to the fortress, bribed the garrison, and marched into it. From that time Gwalior became the home of the Scindia family and the capital of their kingdom. Ten years later Mahadjee Scindia died and was succeeded by his grand-nephew, Daulat Rao Scindia, who by the strength and discipline of his army became the most formidable member of the Mahratta confederacy. The Treaty of Bassein (31st December 1801), by which the English engaged to restore the Peshwa to power on condition of his becoming a subsidiary prince, was a grave blow to the power of the confederacy and sorely wounded the Mahratta pride. The Mahratta Chief of Nagpore (commonly called the Rajah of Berar), and Daulat Rao Scindia, could not tolerate the abandonment of the Mahratta independence, and on the 3rd of August 1803 began the Second Mahratta War. The well-contested and hardly won victories of Assaye and Laswari broke the power of Scindia, and both in Upper and Central India he was compelled to enter into a defensive treaty and make a large cession of territory. When the war broke out the Governor of Gwalior undertook to surrender the fortress to the English, but secretly instigated the Commandant not to deliver it up at the appointed time. It was

Gwalior becomes the home of the Scindia family, 1784.

therefore invested by British troops, and on the 5th of February 1804 they gained possession of it. But Scindia had concluded the treaty of peace under the hope that by the words of the treaty the fort of Gwalior would remain in his possession. The Marquis of Wellesley, by a not wholly inadmissible interpretation of the letter of the treaty, declared that justice did not require us to surrender the fort, while sound policy imperatively called upon us to keep it out of Scindia's hands. General Wellesley considered that "the argument is on our side"; but he wrote to Malcolm, "I would sacrifice Gwalior, or every frontier of India, ten times over, in order to preserve our credit for scrupulous good faith, and the advantages and honours we gained by the late war and the late peace; and we must not fritter them away in arguments drawn from overstrained principles of the laws of nations, which are not understood in this country. What brought me through many difficulties in the war and the negotiations of peace? The British good faith, and nothing else."[1]

British troops gain possession of the fort, 5th February 1804.

In 1805 Lord Cornwallis again landed in India as Governor-General, and on the 22nd of November a fresh treaty was concluded which ceded Gwalior and Gohud to Scindia. The camp which Daulat Rao pitched in a small circular valley surrounded by barren hills to the south of the fort grew into a handsome town, and retains at the present day its old name Lashkar, the camp. In March 1827 Daulat Rao died, leaving no son, but

Gwalior and Gohud ceded to Scindia, 22nd November 1805.

[1] "Despatches of the Duke of Wellington," vol. ii. p. 1106.

in accordance with his last wishes, a youth of eleven years, belonging to an obscure branch of the family, was adopted and placed on the guddee under the title of Ali Jah Jan Khwājah Rao Scindia. In 1843 he also died without leaving a son, and his widow, a wayward, passionate, but clever girl of twelve years of age, with the concurrence of the chiefs of the State and the army, adopted a lad of about eight years of age, the nearest, though a very distant, relative of the late Maharajah. Disorders arose in the State, and the insolence of an overgrown mutinous army compelled Lord Ellenborough, then Governor-General, to take prompt action with regard to Gwalior. On December 28th, 1843, at Maharajpore, the English once more encountered the Mahrattas, who fought with all their ancient valour, but had to retreat after a desperate resistance. Three thousand of the enemy lay dead on the field, and fifty-six superb bronze guns were the prize of the victors. The same day another British force encountered another portion of the Mahratta army at Punniar, twelve miles from Gwalior, and gained a complete victory. The victorious forces met beneath the walls of the ancient stronghold, which on the 4th of January was taken possession of by the Contingent force commanded by British officers. On the 13th of January a fresh treaty was signed and ratified. The administration of the State was entrusted to a Council of six nobles. "The Council of Regency," wrote Lord Ellenborough to the Duke of Wellington, "cannot be changed without our

Battle of Maharajpore, 28th December 1843.

consent. It is to act according to our advice during the Maharajah's minority, which terminates, when he becomes eighteen, on the 19th of January 1854." Two years before the stated interval the British Government dissolved the Council of Regency, declared the minority of the young sovereign at an end, and with his consent appointed Dunker Rao—a young Brahmin of great ability and integrity, who had already proved his talent for administration—Diwan or Prime Minister.[1] Dunker Rao, though young in years, was worthy of his high office, and will always hold a high rank among the eminent Indian Statesmen who have done so much to consolidate our Indian Empire by their able management of a great feudatory state. He improved the revenue and judicial administration, and with a firm hand he attempted to put down bribery and extortion. The natural consequences followed. In May 1854, Colonel Malcolm, the Political Agent at Gwalior, having been appointed Resident at Baroda, Captain Macpherson,[2] Resident at Bhopal, was appointed to

Dunker Rao appointed Diwan or Prime Minister.

[1] "I have seldom seen a man of greater intelligence and refinement of manners, or one who impressed me so favourably as did the Prime Minister of Gwalior. There was that in his serene, half-sad yet intellectual countenance which would have made a noble study for Fra Angelico."—"Campaigning Experiences in Rajpootana and Central India during the Suppression of the Mutiny, 1857 and 1858," by Mrs Henry Duberly, p. 159.

Colonel Grove Somerset wrote: "I look upon Dunker Rao as a gentleman, an honest and faithful man, and my friend."

[2] He attained about this time, by brevet, the army rank of Major. "In his regiment the good health enjoyed by his seniors prevented him from ever rising above the rank of Captain."—"Memorials of Service in India; from the Correspondence of the late Major Samuel Charters Macpherson, C.B.," edited by his brother, William Macpherson, p. 297.

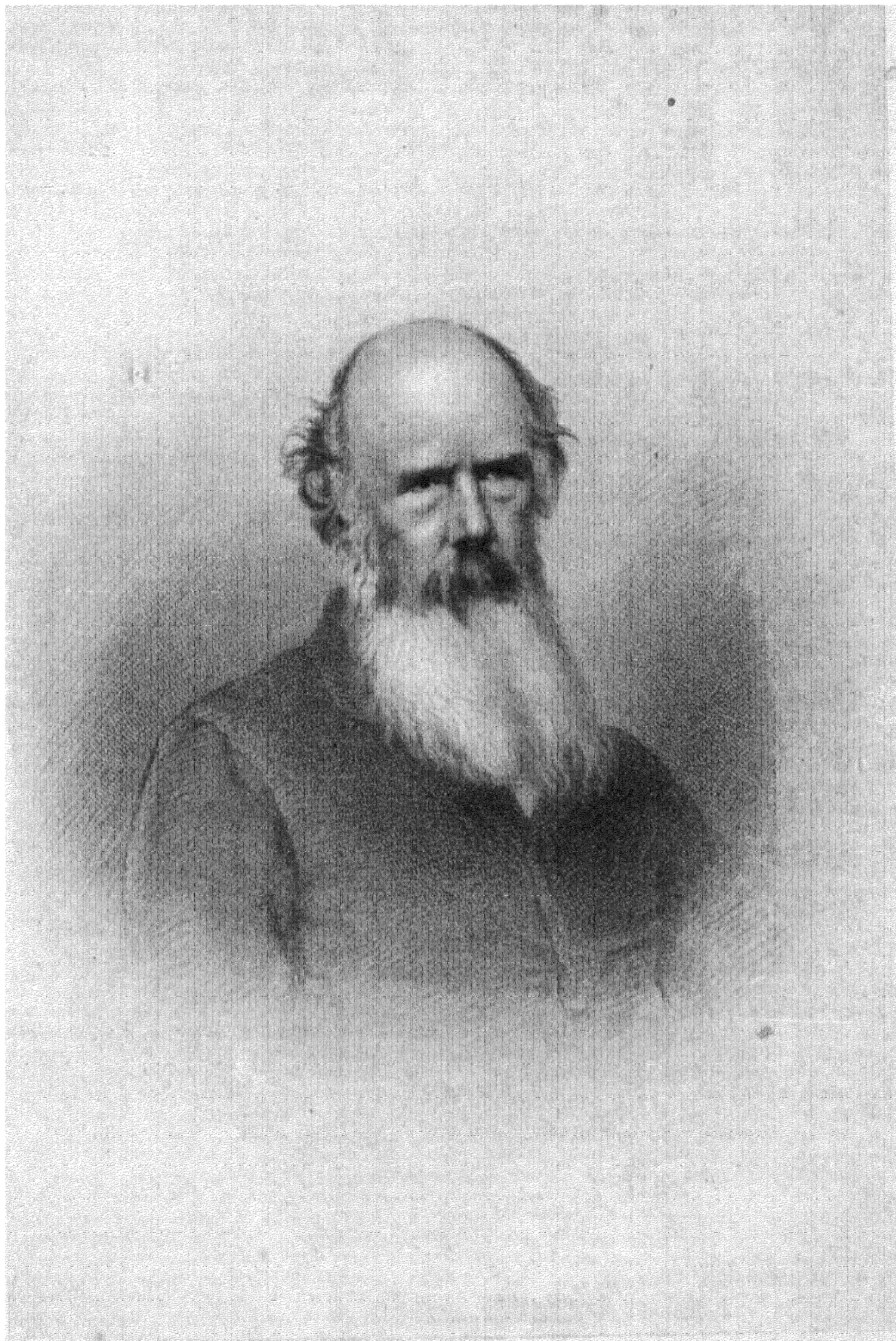
succeed him. Two months, however, elapsed before the new Resident could reach Gwalior. During that time the low courtiers and dexterous intriguers who surrounded the young Rajah persuaded him that he should take into his own hands the administration of the State and dismiss his Prime Minister. But Scindia was a born soldier, not an administrator. "His education had been nearly confined to the use of his horse, lance, and gun, whence his tastes were purely and passionately military. He seemed to enjoy no occupation save drilling, dressing, ordering, transforming, feasting, playing with his troops, and the unwearied study of books of evolution, and he grudged no expenditure connected with that amusement." Scindia had the Mahratta quickness of apprehension; but the lad was impatient of public business, and when Macpherson reached Gwalior public affairs had drifted into the utmost confusion. The new Political Agent had a difficult and delicate game to play, but no man was better adapted by nature and training to play it.

Scindia a born soldier.

Samuel Charters Macpherson.

Samuel Charters Macpherson is one of the many sons of England who have gone forth for her—not only conquering and to conquer, but saving and to save.[1] He was the second son born (6th January 1806) to Dr Hugh Macpherson, Professor of Greek in the University of Aberdeen. In consequence of delicate health in childhood he learnt his rudiments at his father's knee, but growing tall and strong he was sent to the College of Edinburgh.

[1] "Bibliotheca Pastorum," vol. iv., collated by John Ruskin.



MAJOR SAMUEL CHARTERS MACPHERSON, C.B.

Here he busied himself not only with classics and moral philosophy, but also with botany, chemistry, and geology. At seventeen he was entered at Trinity College, Cambridge. But as a systematic course of study has always been considered necessary for the legal profession in Scotland, he left Cambridge, after a residence of two years, to read for the Scotch Bar. Nobler destinies were in store for him. His eyes, always weak, were overtaxed by too close a study of Political Economy and Civil Law: they became subject to an affection which interfered seriously with his studies. It was necessary that he should choose another profession. A cadetship in the East India Company's service was obtained for him, and he sailed for Madras early in 1827. On his arrival he was posted to the 8th Regiment of Native Infantry. After four years of regimental duty, he was appointed to the Staff as Assistant Surveyor-General—an office which gave him ample opportunity for continuing his favourite scientific studies. He wrote to a young friend at Cambridge: "The temple of written knowledge has been inexorably shut against me since I was the age you are. I catch but passing and desultory glimpses of what goes on within; but I am a worshipper without the gate, and improve my uncommon opportunities of studying this strange race, and the land which it inhabits, and so keeping my mind active and enlarged in physical and moral views, and ready for any march that fortune may assign to it." While engaged on the geographical survey of the

Entered Trinity College, Cambridge.

Sails for Madras, 1827.

Posted to the 8th Regiment, Madras Native Infantry.

Appointed Assistant Surveyor-General.

land and acquiring a knowledge of the people by timely intercourse with all classes, Macpherson was summoned to join his regiment, which had been engaged for some time in operations against a native chief, the Rajah, or Zemindar, of Goomsar. Fortune had assigned to the highly educated Scotch lad a long career among the barbarous aboriginal tribes who occupy the hill tracts of Orissa on the south-west frontier of Bengal. It was a life full of peril, full of anxiety and responsibility, full of wild adventure and barbarism, and it was also full of noble accomplishment. Among these tribes human sacrifices prevailed. Macpherson studied the religion, which was the foundation of the cruel rite, and the social institutions which contributed to its power. He visited the tribes in their mountain homes; he mixed familiarly and conversed freely with them. They soon became attached to him by personal regard, by their knowledge of his justice, and their experience of his sympathy and kindness. By a well-devised and judicious series of conciliatory measures, and by the introduction of a system of pure justice, the extinction of the enormity was effected among two of the most important tribes. The good work begun by Macpherson was carried on by worthy successors till the barbarous rite became extinct throughout all the tracts of the hills of Orissa. In 1848, the malaria of the jungles having sunk deep into his system, he was obliged to take leave to England to recruit his health. On his way home, at Cairo, Outram introduced himself to Macpherson as one who had "long

Orissa and the aboriginal tribes.

The extinction of human sacrifices.

Leave to England.

watched his career with the deepest interest and admiration." Soon after his return to India (1853) he was appointed Political Agent at Bhopal, "a very pretty and pleasant country," from whence he was transferred to the more important office of Resident at the Court of Gwalior. There is little need to point the moral of such a story as the Indian Mutiny, but of its many morals there is one chief arrowhead of which we should not lose sight. In the offices vital to our safety, it is not sufficient to have clever administrators, but men of sense, courage, honour, and sympathy. Such, in truth, were John Lawrence, Henry Lawrence, and Charters Macpherson, holding at the time of the outbreak three of the most vital posts in India.

Political Agent at Bhopal, 1853.

On assuming office at Gwalior, Macpherson did not attempt to play the *rôle* of ruler under a thin veil. He considered it his first duty to conciliate the friendship of both the Prince and his Minister, and to offer, in a mode that could not injure the impression of their power, every advice and admonition. His main aim was to raise the young Maharajah as high and make him as useful in independent action as he was capable of being made. Between the Deccan Brahmin and the son of the Scotch professor there quickly arose a friendship, and their relations, rightly accepted, aided and increased the vigour and authority of both. Many reforms in the administration of the State were introduced, and cultivation and prosperity increased. Over the young Rajah Macpherson

Assumes the office of Political Resident at Gwalior.

exercised a strong influence, and led him to extend his thoughts beyond his pleasures and the means of providing for them. In the spring of 1857, Scindia, accompanied by the Resident, the Diwan, and several of the Gwalior chiefs, paid a visit to Calcutta. Scindia and Dunker Rao inspected the colleges and schools as models to be reproduced at Gwalior. The Maharajah went down the Hughly and saw a spinning-mill at work. "On his way he was particularly boastful, until he passed the house occupied by the Viceroy of Oudh. The sight sobered him. in an instant, and his zeal for civilisation instantly increased." Lord Canning, however, at his last audience, allayed any fears that may have arisen in his mind with regard to the permanence of his own dynasty. The Governor-General complimented him on the successful administration of his territories and the wise introduction of useful reforms, and added that if such measures were persevered in, and he died without male issue, the Government would follow the ancient Hindu custom of recognising an adopted successor. The remark made a deep impression on the Maharajah, and the courtesy and generosity of Lord Canning were powerful factors in winning the fidelity of Scindia.

Scindia visits Calcutta.

Lord Canning's courtesy and generosity.

The Maharajah returned to his capital in April, and shortly after his arrival gave a grand *fête*. "The last grand military display we had," wrote a lady, "was the blowing up of a mud fort; it

was a very striking sight." Three weeks passed, and on the 16th of May tidings reached Gwalior from Agra of the outbreak at Meerut: "It burst on us at Gwalior like a thunder-clap, and paralysed us with horror."[1] They were a handful of English men and women in the capital of a Native State garrisoned entirely by native troops. The chief was a young Mahratta. His army consisted of ten thousand men. In addition there was the Gwalior Contingent—one of those bodies of troops which the British Government had insisted on certain Native princes and chiefs maintaining, in addition to their own armies necessary for the civil administration of their respective territories. They were recruited from the same class as the Bengal sepoy, and also from the same country—Oudh. The chiefs had no control over the troops enlisted in their name and paid out of their coffers, so the men had not the usual ties of mercenary troops, for while they received the money of one master they obeyed another. In May 1857 the Gwalior Contingent was composed of four field batteries of artillery, a small siege train, two regiments of cavalry and seven of infantry, aggregating eight thousand three hundred and eighteen men. The sepoys were of great stature and admirably disciplined. The artillery were thoroughly trained,

Tidings reach Gwalior of the outbreak at Meerut, 16th May 1857.

[1] "We did not see the terrible details till a day or two afterwards, when we were dining with the Stuarts: I remember our gloomy forebodings, and how we talked of what had happened. Little more than a month after, out of the nine people assembled together that night, there were only three survivors."—"A Lady's Escape from Gwalior," by R. M. Coopland.

the cavalry well mounted, and the horses well groomed. The greater portion of the force was stationed at Gwalior, with outposts at Sipri, Gawali, 'and Agra. The same day that tidings reached Gwalior of the outbreak at Meerut, came a message from the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces asking if a brigade of the Gwalior Contingent could be spared to Agra. The Resident promptly placed at his disposal a regiment and a half of infantry, one hundred horse, and a battery—being one-half of the force at Gwalior. On the evening of the 12th Macpherson had a long conversation with the Maharajah, who was deeply distracted by the accounts and rumours which filled his capital of outbreaks throughout the Northern Provinces and Rajputana. He had closely watched the outbreaks in Bengal; he must have learnt a good deal when he was at Calcutta, and he apprehended a widespread mutiny of the Sepoy army. "He said that from the greased cartridges the belief had arisen in the army that the Government intended to strike at the Hindu and Muhammadan religions. That the enemies of our rule had found in that belief a pretext and opportunity. That the confidence of the army in the Government was at an end, and that a widespread belief had arisen that they would overthrow it." But Scindia begged that his troops, his personal services, all his resources might be considered at the disposal of the Governor-General. Morning came, and at the earliest dawn of day the young Sovereign, with a dark foreboding in his heart, went to the Resident. He earnestly warned him against the expectation

Macpherson's conversation with Scindia.

Scindia places his troops and his personal services at the disposal of the Resident.

that the Contingent troops, if sent to our provinces, would act against their brethren or abstain from joining them should they revolt. He also urged that "the internal peace of Gwalior, the obedience of the reduced Princes and Thakurs," depended upon the Contingent. Macpherson replied that the first object was simply to gain time for the European force to assemble to crush the rebels, and as they agreed that the Contingent "would not mutiny at least until our regiments did so," they might meanwhile be useful in acting against plunderers and maintaining our communications. The Resident took the opportunity of suggesting that the domination of the sepoys and the Moghul Emperor must shake the foundation of authority not only in British Provinces, but in every State of Hindustan. "Should the Contingent revolt, but above all should our Power be shaken, the Princes and Chiefs of the Rajput, Jat, and other ancient races of Gwalior would unite to cast off the Mahratta yoke." Scindia quite understood the force of the suggestion. Thus fortified, Macpherson urged him to influence by his example the surrounding Princes and to counteract the movement of the Contingent and of his sympathising troops towards rebellion, and to do this by demonstrating, by every act devisable, that he discredited the religious pretext of the movement, that he held that our power must triumph, and that he was, therefore, necessarily one with us. Scindia agreed with the Resident that "at whatever immediate risk to Gwalior, the Lieutenant-Governor's wish for aid from the Contingent should be complied with." The young

Maharajah, at the suggestion of the Resident, summoned Dunker Rao the next day from his country residence. The Prime Minister, though he did not underrate the magnitude and importance of the struggle, "was perfectly confident that it would be at once stamped out by the European force assembling under the Commander-in-Chief, provided that every semblance of ground for the cartridge grievance and cry should be at once removed."

The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces requests the despatch of Contingent troops.

On the 13th of May the Lieutenant-Governor requested the despatch to Agra of the 18th Regiment of cavalry and a battery. The Resident telegraphed to him that, "although their officers considered them still sound, yet if associated with disturbed corps no one would answer for a moment for their soundness." This warning does not seem to have had much effect, for that day Lieutenant Cockburn started with two hundred horse and six guns. After a rapid march they reached Agra. The horse were, however, mostly detached to strengthen the position at Allygurh, an important city about eighty miles from Meerut and sixty from Agra.[1] They arrived there just as a wing of the 9th Native Infantry mutinied and carried off the treasure. They returned to Hattras,[2] and behaved

[1] Allygurh, a district containing about 1900 square miles. The chief town, also called Allygurh, is defended by a famous fortress. It lies on the highroad between Cawnpore and Meerut.

[2] "Hathras (*Hattras*). Town in Aligarh District, North-Western Provinces, and headquarters of Hathras *tahsil*—a well-built and prosperous trading centre, with numerous brick and stone houses."—Hunter's "Imperial Gazetteer."

well against a body of plunderers, but on the 23rd, a hundred men, shouting *Deen*, moved off to Delhi. They had been corrupted, as Scindia said they would be, by contact with rebellion. Macpherson thought it of the highest importance that Scindia should at once, by some act whose profound significance could not be mistaken, demonstrate that he had thrown in his lot with the English. He therefore urged the Maharajah to send the Bodyguard of 400 horse and a horsed battery to Agra; "for it was notorious that the formation of that Guard had been for years the object next to Scindia's heart, that its cavalry, composed of Mahrattas of his own caste or kindred, were his companions by day and by night, inseparable from his pleasures and his State; that although pampered soldiers, their fidelity to Scindia might be relied on, and their despatch would certainly import more unequivocally than any other act then possible his co-operation with us." The Maharajah cordially adopted the suggestion, but he requested that his Guard might be accompanied by a British officer. He, however, omitted nothing to make the despatch palpably his own act or to heighten its effect. "With high apparent exultation, he made them over next day to Captain Campbell[1] in the presence of the officers of the Contingent and myself. The day after, he marched out with them to their camp."[2] Scindia was highly gratified by

The Maharajah sends his own Body-guard to Agra.

[1] Captain Campbell was Superintendent of the Durbar Public Works.

[2] "Report on Gwalior," by Major Macpherson, 10th February 1858.

the Governor-General acknowledging its despatch as a mark of attachment and confidence. On the 22nd of May, at the request of the Lieutenant-Governor, the 1st Contingent Infantry, under Major Hennessy, moved from Gwalior to Etawah, a civil station about thirty miles away, from which the Magistrate had been compelled to retire by the mutiny of another portion of the 9th Native Infantry.[1]

The following day the Lieutenant-Governor requested the despatch to Agra of a reserved troop of the 1st Cavalry. Macpherson submitted a repetition of the warning that the Contingent would not act against our troops, their brethren, although he trusted they would still act against broken hordes of plunderers or mutineers. "All believed in the truth of the cartridge grievance, but it affected the Sepoys alone. The great object of the leaders of the revolt, as shown in every proclamation and newspaper, was to lead the mass of the population to regard the contest as a religious one. Whence they laboured from Calcutta to Lahore to spread the belief that, to destroy Caste, the Government had mixed pigs' and bullock bones with the people's food."[2] An attempt was now made in Gwalior to excite disturbances by the cry that

[1] "Major Hennessy, in a very difficult position, restored order, while the Lieutenant-Governor thanked and promised to reward his corps. Yet it was understood to be in the van of the movement, and, on the mutiny of the Contingent, its Soobadar Major assumed command of the whole."—"Report on Gwalior," by Major Macpherson, 10th February 1858.

[2] Ibid.

flour, sugar, &c., so polluted had been brought from Agra! Dunker Rao tried, by a searching inquiry, to expose the falsehood of the malicious rumours. This roused the ire of the sepoys, and on the 26th of May, about the end of the Feast of Ramazan, their fanatical zeal ran so high that they insulted the Diwan on his venturing to visit the Resident in cantonments, where he had gone to reside in order to be near the electric telegraph and the Brigadier. The attitude of the sepoys was so threatening that Dunker Rao, afraid of personal violence, had to leave his carriage and return to the town by a by-path on horseback. Major Macpherson, on hearing what had occurred, arranged to return to the Residency next day. The following morning the Resident visited Scindia at his request, and found him oppressed with anxiety. He spoke long of the state of affairs. "He observed that amongst the most affected of the Contingent, and some of his own men from our provinces, nightly meetings for administering pledges —as on Ganges Water—amid infinite boastings of the destruction of the English power and of all Christians, were very rife." He then said the feelings evinced by the sepoys towards the Diwan when he attempted to visit the Resident in cantonments made his going there impossible. "For with his life, in fact, was imperilled our great object to avoid giving to the leaders of the revolt the least pretext for forcing on an outbreak, while we expected the fall of Delhi to change the whole aspect of things." He therefore begged, as essential to

The sepoys insult the Diwan.

Interview between the Resident and Scindia.

the security of their intercourse, that Major Macpherson should live at the Residency, or anywhere else the Resident pleased, save in cantonments beyond Scindia's jurisdiction. The Resident told him that he had anticipated his wishes. Scindia then asked permission to guard the Residency and large storehouse with his own instead of the Contingent troops, "when," he added, "the Residency may also become, as you desire, a place of refuge for the ladies of the cantonments, such as has been provided in Agra and Jhansi, and is most essential here." Major Macpherson consented to the Residency being guarded by His Highness's troops alone. He, however, informed the Maharajah that though he agreed generally with his views regarding the Contingent, its officers confided very strongly in their men. Scindia said that their confidence was to him wholly incomprehensible, and added emphatically, "The Contingent Sepoys have entirely ceased to be servants of your Government, and this I say expressly with a view to acquit myself of responsibility."[1] The Resident at once informed the Brigadier of Scindia's formal warning.

Brigadier Ramsay.

Brigadier Ramsay who commanded the Contingent at Gwalior was, like John Hearsey at Barrackpore and Hugh Wheeler at Cawnpore, a gallant old soldier, with a large knowledge of the sepoy, of his habits and of his language, and perceiving in his men little evidence of change from the old discipline, manners, and show of personal devotion, could not understand the trans-

[1] "Report on Gwalior," by Major Macpherson, 10th February 1858.

formation which the blind fury of fanatical zeal had wrought in them. He considered that the removal of the ladies, unless imperatively necessary, would indicate want of confidence in the fidelity of the troops, and he "determined to say nothing on the subject." The next day there was, however, a strong rumour that the troops were to mutiny that night, set fire to the lines, and massacre their officers. The Brigadier reluctantly consented to the women and children being sent to the Residency. The Diwan was with the Resident when the women arrived. He instantly rode off to inform His Highness. "He came straight at speed with a strong body of horse and posted parties of it, and of foot, so as to make safe the Residency and the roads from cantonments both to it and to his Palace lest the officers should need either." That night the infantry and cavalry officers slept in their lines and the artillery officers and the old Brigadier before the guns. The belief of the officers of the Bengal Army in the loyalty of their men was too often a grievous mistake. But the calm courage and high sacrifice by which, standing upon their views of duty, they illustrated their generous error must command admiration for ever.

Scindia suggests that the ladies should be sent to one of his palaces.

Next morning, at the earnest request of Scindia, who could no longer confide their safety to those of his troops recruited from our provinces, the ladies were sent from the Residency to one of his palaces. "The natives of Gwalior," says one who was present, "crowded to a sight such as had

never been seen in their streets before. Fifteen or sixteen carriages dashing through, surrounded by hundreds of wild Mahratta horsemen, filled with English ladies and children. A gallop of four or five miles through heat and dust brought us to the Rajah's palace." Major Macpherson at once sent a telegram to Mr Colvin informing him what had taken place, and that it was his intention "to send the ladies under escort of a body of horse to Agra." He asked that Scindia's Bodyguard should meet them at Dholpore, the capital of a Native State of the same name on the high-road to that city. The Brigadier on reading the telegram took a fatal step. "I took on myself," he writes, "to report to Mr Colvin that we had slept in the lines the previous night, that all was quiet and confidence increasing, and that I considered Scindia was disposed to enhance his own services at the expense of the Contingent." The Brigadier also wrote to Major Macpherson that he apprehended no outbreak, and that he thought the ladies should return. "Two ladies, Mrs Meade and Mrs Murray, in opposition to the most urgent solicitations of Major Macpherson, returned to cantonments late in the afternoon, and the news of their having done so immediately spread through the station and had the most beneficial effect on the men generally, who it was reported to me had been greatly hurt at the distrust implied by their leaving the cantonments. Many inquiries were made of the other officers, whose wives and children had not returned, and voluntary offers

The Brigadier takes a fatal step.

of protection and even of rescue were made to their officers by many other men." It was never clear whether in this instance as in many others there may not have been as much of weakness and apprehension as of wicked purpose in the conduct and speeches of armed men angered by false rumours which had been spread with a systematic endeavour to sow distrust and ill-feeling between them and their officers. The Brigadier added—"I am happy to say that the rest of the ladies returned to cantonments this morning, and I consider that the excitement caused by the above occurrences has, so far as this cantonment is concerned, subsided."[1] On the 1st of June the Governor-General telegraphed to Gwalior, "Convey my thanks at once to Scindia for his kind and thoughtful attention, as well as his energetic measures for the security of the ladies in the cantonment. It gives me the greatest pleasure to have to acknowledge these repeated proofs of his attachment to the British Government."

On the 7th of June the Officer Commanding at Jhansi requested aid from Gwalior. He merely wished to reduce to submission fifty men of the 12th Native Infantry who had seized the treasure. The rest of the troops, he considered, continued loyal. Captain Murray, with a wing of the 4th Contingent Infantry and a battery, was sent to

[1] "Scindia expressed intense concern on hearing that they were not to remain with him at least until Delhi fell"—"Report on Gwalior," by Major Macpherson, 10th February 1858.

quell the handful of mutineers at Jhansi. However, they had not marched three days when news reached Murray that every Christian, man, woman, and child, had been killed at that city, and he at once returned to Gwalior. The awful extent of the catastrophe soon became known in Scindia's capital. Early on the morning of the 11th, His Highness, "excited and distracted," visited the Resident. He was accompanied by the Diwan. "They said that, from the nearness of Jhansi and the intimacy between its population and that of Gwalior, the atrocity of the massacre and the amount of treasure seized, the Contingent and all in Gwalior were stirred to the very uttermost. All save a very few believed that our empire was in its last hour." Scindia, the Diwan, and the Mahratta officers, "survivors of the old war," still believed that we should triumph. But their belief was sorely tried. News came daily of fierce and murderous risings. Delhi did not fall. It sore pressed its besiegers. The people of Gwalior showed by their manner—full of insolence, of exaggerated deference or of pity—their ripe conviction that our rule was over. The only question to the soldiery and people was—when Scindia, blinded by the Resident and the Diwan, would accept and act upon the conviction.

11th June, Massacre at Jhansi deeply stirred Gwalior.

On the 13th, at the Durbar's urgent request, Major Macpherson requested the Brigadier to despatch half a regiment and two guns to two districts near the river Chumbul. The 2nd Regiment was selected for this duty. Major Blake,

their commander, "an officer who, beyond most well informed, experienced, and beloved of his corps," reported "that it would not move, though he still hoped that it would come right." 'But the time had come when Blake would no longer be left in his illusion.

On Sunday morning, the 14th of June, the English attended divine service in the Gwalior Church and took the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The hot Indian day wore away in misery. All was quiet, but "it was a dread, foreboding stillness," says the wife of the chaplain; "I read the lines 'while drooping Sadness enfolds us here like mist' in the 'Christian Year,' and felt comforted."[1] They had heard the particulars of the Jhansi massacre and did not know how soon they might meet the same fate themselves. "The dread calm of apprehension was awful. We indeed drank the cup of bitterness to the dregs. The words—'O Death in Life, the days that are no more,' kept recurring to my memory like a dirge." Noon came. The husband worn out by his morning's work lay down to rest; the wife read home letters—"one from my sister on her wedding tour." Suddenly the servants entered with scared faces, and exclaimed that a bungalow was on fire and the wind was blowing the flames towards them. When the Chaplain and his wife went out, they saw all the residents were taking the furniture out of their houses and pouring

The outbreak at Gwalior, 14th June 1857.

[1] "I afterwards recovered that very book."—"A Lady's Escape from Gwalior," by R. M. Coopland, p. 112.

water on the roofs. "The heat was dreadful, the wind high, and the Mess House was soon also a mass of flames. When the sun began to set the wind fell and the flames ceased to spread, but the Mess House was a heap of burning fuel." All was again calm: the smoke drifted away and the stars rolled over in their eastern majesty. Nine o'clock and the evening gun is fired. No sooner was its sound lost when the bugles rang out an alarm, followed by the cries of many voices, "To arms! to arms! the Feringhees (Europeans) are come." The artillerymen rushed to their guns, the infantry seized their muskets, and the sepoys, possessed with the spirit of bigotry and maddened with fear, proceeded to destroy all that came in their path. Major Blake, Commandant of the 2nd Infantry Regiment, a gallant officer, much beloved by his men, on hearing the bugles took a hasty leave of his wife and galloped to the lines. On arriving at the quarter-guard he and his charger were mortally wounded. Lieutenant Pearson, Adjutant of the same regiment, was roused from his bed by the news that the troops had risen and "lined all the roads with the determination of killing all Europeans they could lay their hands on." He quickly mounted his horse and left his wife in charge of a native servant. "I knew what I had to expect," he writes, "and yet it was my duty to go and do my best; so I went away from my home, which I never saw again." No sooner had he got out into the road than he was met by Dr Mackellar

and Lieutenant Ryves (12th N.I.) who had just escaped from Jhansi, and they were hustled down the parade by a mob of sepoys. "Before we got 100 yards we sustained three volleys from men not fifteen yards off, but were not touched. The fourth volley saluted us just as we passed the head of the grenadier company, one ball of which shot my poor charger right through the heart. He fell dead on me, and I had the greatest difficulty in extricating myself, expecting a bayonet in my back every moment. In getting from under him I tore off my boot, so proceeded to parade without it, as retreat was hopeless." On reaching the parade Pearson saw Blake lying shot through the lungs. "His horse lay near him quite dead." The sepoys saw it was useless even to unfasten his coat, "but I insisted on it, and did it myself, placing his head on my shoulder, and trying to make him speak; but it was no good — the poor fellow was dying fast." They were surrounded by hundreds of mutineers, but none laid hands on them. The sepoys of Blake's regiment vented their sorrow and anger, declaring vehemently that the foul deed had been done by the men of the 4th. Some of them made an attempt to carry their wounded Commander to the hospital. But he soon died, and the Brahmin sepoys, to whom the touch of a corpse is deadly pollution, buried him. Meanwhile Pearson and his two comrades made their way to the cavalry lines. But here the bullets flew fast. Mackellar and Ryves, being mounted, made a rush for it, forded

Death of Major Blake.

The Brahmin sepoys bury their Commander.

the river and galloped off towards Agra: and Pearson stood alone barefooted. "Just at this moment three sepoys caught hold of me, and said they would try and save me. They threw off my hat, tore off my trousers and the remaining boot, covered me as well as they could with my horse-cloth, which my groom had brought along with us, and, putting me between the two, the third walked in front; and what between knocking up one man's musket, whose bayonet was just at my back, and declaring I was one of their wives, we got through all the sentries and crossed the river. They then wanted me to make the best of my way off, saying that the chances were ten to one that my wife was killed by that time, but I told them plainly I would not try to escape without her. After a great deal of persuading they took me down the banks of the river (the opposite side of which was regularly lined with sentries to prevent escape) till we came opposite our house, where they set me down, and one man said, 'Now I will go and bring your wife to you if she is alive'; so off he went, and after about twenty minutes of the most agonising suspense dear M—— and I met again. I must say the three sepoys with us behaved splendidly. Seeing poor M—— was unable to walk, they tied my horse-cloth in a sort of bag fashion on to a musket, put her into it, and placing the butt and muzzle on their shoulder carried her this way seven miles till we reached the Residency, by which time I could hardly put my feet to the ground from walking barefoot over the thorny

Escape of Lieutenant Pearson.

Three sepoys behave splendidly.

ground. On arriving there we met three other people just escaped, and I got an elephant, on which we all mounted, intending to seek further protection in the Lushkur, with the Maharajah, to whom lots of people had gone; but before we had got half a mile we met nearly a dozen carriages, all in full gallop, accompanied by the Bodyguard in full retreat back to the Residency." They swiftly turned back, and a few sowars being left to protect them, they soon reached the Residency. The other party of fugitives on the road consisted of Major Macpherson and his sister Mrs Innes,[1] Brigadier Ramsay, Captain and Mrs Meade and child, Captain and Mrs Murray and two children, and several other persons of whom the majority were women and children.

Brigadier Ramsay and Captains Meade and Murray, finding it useless to attempt reaching the lines, had proceeded with their families under the escort of some faithful sepoys to the Phoolbagh (Flower Garden),[2] Scindia's palace in the Lashkar. When news was brought to the Residency of the outbreak at the cantonment, Macpherson set off at once to see the Maharajah. He found him at the Phoolbagh surrounded by his troops under arms. Dunker Rao was with his master. Both knew the temper of the rebels and of their own troops, and they declared it was impossible to protect the

Interview between Macpherson and the Maharajah.

[1] Mrs Innes, wife of the late General M'Leod Innes, V.C.

[2] "This residence is more princely than the town palace, it has such wealth of space, with handsome lofty rooms, pillars, fountains, terraces, and gardens of flowers."—"Campaigning Experiences," by Mrs Henry Duberley, p. 159.

fugitives. They had already ordered carriages and palanquins to convey them to Agra, and an escort of Scindia's Bodyguard to guard them. Macpherson, with noble courage and self-devotion, wished to remain at his post, but Scindia, feeling that his presence would be a source of grave embarrassment and that his life would not be safe, wisely protested against his stay. The young Sovereign realised the magnitude of a catastrophe which might even threaten his throne, and, anxious and agitated, he had to face a most difficult position. His troops might coalesce with the rebels and demand that he should lead them against the English. If he refused, they might, having powerful artillery, bombard his city and fort. His first idea was by means of his treasure to purchase the departure of the rebels from his territory. But Major Macpherson urged the Mahratta chief to make, for the sake of the British Government, a splendid effort to retain them until Agra could be reinforced or Delhi fall. He must rely on British strength and British generosity to reward him for any temporary sacrifice or peril to his more immediate interests. Dunker Rao asked if it were necessary for the detention of these rebels to receive them into the Maharajah's service, would the Governor-General approve of the step? The Political Agent said if no other means might avail, the measure might be adopted.[1] The Maharajah, through his Minister, promised that every effort should be made and

[1] "Memorials of Service in India," edited by William Macpherson, p. 317.

every stratagem adopted to detain the Contingent, and right well did Scindia keep his promise.

Macpherson after his interview with Scindia set forth with his party for Agra. After proceeding about eighteen miles they halted during the hot hours of the day, and about four o'clock started again for Dholpore. The sun had almost done his work when they entered a village eight miles from the river Chumbul (which divides Scindia's territory from Dholpore) and found two hundred Ghazis drawn up under the command of a Muhammadan who had once been a native officer in the Gwalior Contingent. "After long parley he protested that he did not wish to injure the Europeans, and came to visit them arrayed in green, fingering his beads ceaselessly." The commander of the Bodyguard, however, discovered that a party of bandits was posted in the ravines fringing the river, and he and his men wisely refused to walk into the trap. Having got through the village, the fugitives halted near it for the night. Macpherson now determined to abandon the carriages and to send the ladies at midnight on horseback, by a bridle-path, to cross the river lower down. As they were on the point of starting, the camp was surprised by the arrival of Thakoor Buldeo Sing and a strong band of followers. He was a Brahmin, the chief of a warlike clan in the neighbourhood. The wise Diwan, who knew the country and people well, had asked him to come to their aid, and he had gladly obeyed the summons. He reminded the Resident of a visit he had once paid them, and of

Macpherson and his party set forth for Agra.

his intercession with the Diwan regarding some tanks and wells for his people. "We have not forgotten this," he said, "and we will defend you with our lives." Buldeo Sing set half of his men to watch the Ghazis, and with the rest of his band conducted the fugitives to the river. At the edge of the ravines the Bodyguard left them, "under orders, it was said, from Gwalior."[1] The Thakoor guided them through the rough country, avoiding a band of mutineers by changing the route, and by his aid they crossed the Chumbul. On the opposite bank a body of the Rana's troops and some elephants was ready to receive them. At 10 A.M. they reached Dholpore, and were treated by the chief with great kindness.[2] At dusk they started again for Agra, "the ladies and children in native carts, and the gentlemen on elephants escorted by some of the Rana's troops. We had two or three alarms during the night, but at length got to the end of our journey, and reached the cantonment of Agra about 10 A.M. Most thankful were we to be again in safety after all that had occurred."

On Friday the 19th another body of fugitives, consisting entirely of women and children, made their way from Gwalior to Agra. At the first out-

[1] "At the edge of the ravines the Bodyguard, despite of remonstrances and reproaches, turned their back upon the party." It is, however, quite possible that the Diwan ordered them back because he did not want a conflict between the Mahrattas and Jats. He knew Buldeo was quite capable of conducting them safely.

[2] The Chief was a Jat, the descendant of the Rana of Gohud who had made Gwalior over to us.

break of the mutiny in that cantonment, Dr and Mrs Kirke, Mr and Mrs Coopland, and Mrs Raikes, took shelter in Major Blake's bungalow, where they found his wife. As the roads were soon guarded and planted with guns, and the cavalry rode to and fro, it was impossible for them to make their escape. Straggling shots were heard and an evil din came ever onwards. The guards rushed into the house and said the mutineers had been joined by the ruffians of the bazaar and were coming to loot the house. They advised them to go into the garden, for if they were discovered they would assuredly be slain. A faithful Muhammadan servant of Mrs Blake's guided them to a spot where they lay concealed behind a bank well covered with bushes. The night was clear, and they understood the meaning of the red glare in the sky. "The moon (which had now risen) looked calmly down on our misery, and lighted the heavens, which were flecked with myriads of stars." An ominous crackling was heard and shouts of glee and triumph. The mob was burning and plundering the bungalow next door. Presently the din grew louder: clouds of smoke and shafts of flames swept over them. Major Blake's house was on fire. Then footsteps were heard coming towards them. The sepoys were searching for them. "I saw the moonlight glancing on their bayonets as they thrust aside the bushes, and they passed so close by us that we might have touched them."[1] Mirza stood by his mistress. The faithful sentry came and told her

Dr and Mrs Kirke, Mr and Mrs Coopland, and Mrs Raikes take shelter in Major Blake's bungalow.

A faithful Muhammadan servant.

[1] "A Lady's Escape from Gwalior." by R. M. Coopland, p. 122.

that "the sahib was shot." She had now no desire to escape, for "the bitterness of death seemed past,"[1] but Mirza and the sepoy dragged her to Mirza's hut at the corner of the garden. Dr and Mrs Kirke, with Mrs Raikes and her nurse and baby, took refuge in a stable. Mr Coopland and his wife followed Mrs Blake. They all crouched down in the hut, not daring to move and scarcely to breathe. Mirza then barred the door and fastened it with a chain. Half an hour crept on. Then they heard the sepoys again searching for them. They came outside and asked Mirza, "Have you no Feringhis (Europeans) concealed?" He swore the most sacred oath in the *Koran* that there were none in his house. They were not satisfied. They hit the door with the butt-end of their muskets. The chain fell with a clang, and as the door burst open the full moon shed its light on their bayonets. "We thought they were going to charge in upon us: but no; the hut was so dark they could not see us. They called for a light; but Mirza stopped them and said, 'You see they are not here: come, and I will show you where they are.' He then shut and fastened the door, and they again went away." Silence awhile. Mirza returned and softly said, "They will be here again soon, and will kill me for concealing you, when I swore you were not here; so I will take you to the bearer's hut: he will not betray you." He then opened the door and they went out. "Day was beginning to dawn,

[1] Mrs Blake's "Narrative."

and the air felt cool after the close atmosphere of the house we had been in for so many hours." Mirza guided them to his fellow-servant's hut, one of a cluster built of mud and very low and small. They lay on the ground quite worn out with watching and terror. "Our lips were parched, and we listened intently to hear the least sound: but a brooding silence prevailed." Here they were joined by Mrs Raikes and her baby. Day grew apace, and a party of sepoys returned to search for the officer. They heard the baby cry, and they told the native nurse who was standing near the door to show them the child. As she brought it out a shout arose, *Feringhee ke baba* (it is a European child). The mother's shriek rent the air. The sepoys began to pull off the roof of thatch. They did not dare to enter for fear of the rifle and revolver. The wretched fugitives stood up close together in a corner of the hut: "each of us took up one of the logs of wood that lay on the ground as some means of defence." When the roof was off the sepoys began to fire down upon them. At the first shot they dropped the wood and Coopland exclaimed, "Let us rush out, and not die like rats in a hole." [1] "We all rushed out; and Mrs Blake, Mrs Raikes and I clasped our hands and cried, *Mut maro, mut maro* (do not kill us)." The sepoys said, "We will not kill the mem-sahibs, only the sahib." Instantly they dragged the ladies back into a hut. "I saw no more," writes the Chaplain's wife, "but volley after volley soon told me all was

Murder of the Chaplain.

[1] Mrs Blake's "Narrative."

over."[1] They lay on the ground in the hut, "and the stillness was such, that a little mouse crept out and looked at us with its bright eyes, and was not afraid." Mrs Campbell, the wife of Captain Campbell, rushed in with her hair falling about her shoulders in profusion, and in a native dress. She had been alone all that dread night and was half wild with fear. Mrs Kirke with her little son joined them. Her husband, who was much beloved by the officers and sepoys under his care, had just been slain before her eyes. A crowd of natives now began to gather round the hut, and the unfortunate women became the centre of much curiosity. Mrs Campbell, known as the Rose of Gwalior, they greatly admired, and remarked how well her feet looked in Indian slippers. Mrs Blake they said was already dying. Then a party of the 2nd Infantry came and carried them to their lines. On arriving there, several of the sepoys said with deep emotion to Mrs Blake, "We will take you to the Sahib." A dead charger lay on the road near the Quarter-guard and, passing beyond all possibility of doubt, she was overcome with a deadly weakness. They placed her on a rough native bed and gave her some water. When she recovered, a native officer of her husband's regiment bent on one knee before her and said the Colours were gone. The bruised heart felt no fear, and anger rose in her, bitter and momentary. "It is your

Murder of Dr Kirke.

[1] "The Chaplain, Mr Coopland, wholly unknown to the troops, was pursued with volleys through cantonments and cut down."—"Report on Gwalior," dated February 10th, 1858.

own fault": she said, "Where is he? and why did you kill him?" The native officer replied that the Major had been killed by the 4th Foot and that his own men had buried him. Mrs Gilbert and her child and Mrs Procter now joined the little group.

Murder of Lieutenant Procter.

Lieutenant Procter had staying in his bungalow when the outbreak began, Mrs Gilbert, the wife of an absent officer. He and his wife might have made their escape on foot, but "Mrs Gilbert was helpless, she was daily expecting her confinement. She could not run, and how could he leave her?"[1] All night Procter, his wife, Mrs Gilbert and her child, lay crouched up in a dark corner of the butler's hut. As day broke they were discovered. A sepoy came into the hut, and having got from them all the little money they had, "to bribe the rest, he said, to let us escape," he told them the sepoys had made a vow that the women and children would not be hurt. "It was only my poor husband they sought." When the sepoy had gone, Procter "moved from his corner and lay down behind a bed: I covered him with a counterpane and lay over him, but oh! we knew well all was now in vain." Soon after, seven or eight sepoys came in and searched around. They brought wheaten cake and water and told the women not to be afraid. They did not want to touch them. "A dread unnatural calm came over me. I could have done anything then. I spoke to them all quietly,

[1] "Mrs Procter's Manuscript Narrative of her Escape from Gwalior." It has never before been printed.

ate and drank what they brought, and told them I was not afraid. They asked me who I was; I told them; they said at once, 'Where is your Sahib?' I said, 'Oh! if you could tell me I should be so happy.' 'Where is he?' Ah, they knew too well. After two or three hours of this agonising suspense—I could take no heed of time—Mrs G. and nurse were taken out of the hut. I sat still, and dreadful men came in and said, Get up, and go out: they came quite close to me with their muskets. I said 'Don't kill me; what will you do with my sahib if you find him?' 'Kill him,' was the reply, at the same time telling me to rise. All hope was now gone. I knew not what I did as I went out: one thought alone possessed me—that they were going to kill him! The compound was full of sepoys loading their muskets. I threatened, entreated, promised; all was in vain. They only laughed and told some of their comrades to take me by the hand and lead me out. I heard shots — I turned and saw him running some 40 yards without being hit. I could look no longer, and just as I turned away they said 'fallen' (Gera); oh, that awful moment." The unfortunate Procter, on his wife leaving the hut, rushed out and ran with his best speed, followed by the bullets of his men. He reached a low mud bank. "There a sowar was standing with his *tulwar* concealed, the moment the sahib came within reach he cut him across the head and face. He fell instantly, heaved one sigh, and all was over. One ball entered his leg." The next

day three native servants buried their master's body in the graveyard.

Romantic adventure of the women and children.

A few of the sepoys took Mrs Procter to the lines of the 2nd Regiment, where she found Mrs Gilbert and the other ladies surrounded by mutineers. About five minutes later, the men of her husband's regiment insisted on taking Mrs Procter and Mrs Gilbert to their lines, and the men of the 2nd ordered their dead commander's carriage to be got ready in order to take his widow where she pleased. Seven women, two children, and a nurse were packed into it. The faithful Mirza drove, and two sepoys escorted it as far as the town. On reaching the palace of the Maharajah, he forwarded them at once in bullock-carts to the Chumbul.[1] They were joined on the road by Mrs Gilbert, Mrs Procter, and Mrs Queck, a Sergeant's wife. They toiled slowly onwards the whole of that long hot afternoon: "the dust rising in clouds, and the hot wind parching us. The men who drove the bullocks could hardly make them move." When the red sun was low they had gone but a few miles, and the ever faithful Mirza told them they were being pursued by some troopers. On reaching a station where the horses for the mail were kept, Mirza told them to get out of the carts and hide themselves. We all sat on the ground and Mirza said, "Only pretend to go to sleep: but I

[1] "To have attempted more had been their certain destruction—he being very hardly pressed to save the lives even of the Christian families in his hereditary service furiously demanded by the fanatics." —"Report on Gwalior," dated February 10th, 1858.

fear I cannot save you, as they are bent on killing you." Presently they heard the clatter of iron-shod hoofs, and five troopers rode up armed with matchlocks and swords. As soon as they saw the carts they stopped and dismounted. Mirza went towards them and began talking to them. "We heard him say, See how tired they are; they have had no rest. Let them sleep to-night; you can kill them to-morrow: only let them sleep now." They retired a short distance. But when darkness had fallen they came forward again and began loading their muskets and unsheathing their swords. Mirza begged the women to give him their trinkets to bribe the ruffians to spare their lives. "Mrs Blake was the only one who had any, Mrs Campbell and Mrs Kirke having been stripped of theirs, and I [Mrs Procter] had left mine behind. I instantly took off my wedding ring and tied it round my waist, as I was determined to save it if possible." Mrs Blake gave her ornaments to Mirza, who handed them to the sowars. They were disappointed at the smallness of the booty, and holding a loaded pistol at Mirza's breast made him swear there were no more articles. Mrs Campbell, who knew the vulgar tongue, came forward and offered them £40 if they would take a note to her husband at Agra. The villains at first consented and went for some paper, but returned and said it was a plot to betray them into the hands of the authorities. They again threatened to kill the women. At that moment was heard the tramp of horse and the clang of arms.

It was the Maharajah's Bodyguard returning from escorting Major Macpherson and his party. The ruffians disappeared. The women begged the Bodyguard to escort them to Agra. But they refused, as they had no orders from their Sovereign. They too went off. "We then lay down, and some of us went to sleep: the poor children did, at least."

With the first glint of dawn they again set forth. About noon on Tuesday they reached the second *dâk* bungalow on the way to Agra. Here they halted during the day. In the evening they again started in the carts. Mirza had procured some *chuddars*, or large veils which native women wear, in which they wrapped their heads so as to look like them on a journey. "The oxen slowly dragged their weary limbs along, hanging their heads and stopping every instant." At night they reached a large village. They got out of the carts and huddled together by the roadside. The rustics came to see them and remarked about these wearied, draggled women, "Well, they are not worth a pice (farthing) each." But to the Rose of Gwalior they said, "You are worth an anna (three half-pence)." The next day they reached the Chumbul, and leaving their carts they crossed it in a rude boat. Soon after reaching the opposite bank a trooper on a camel rode up and gave Mrs Campbell a note. It was from her husband and addressed to Scindia. She read it. Believing that all in Gwalior not of Major Macpherson's party had been slain, he begged his Royal Highness that the bodies should be decently interred—especially his own wife's. The trooper

offered to take her to her husband. He had come a few miles out of Agra, determined to learn at any risk the fate of his wife: and was now, the trooper said, at the *dâk* bungalow at Mannea. The Rose of Gwalior, generous, chivalrous, and brave, refused to desert her companions. Taking a pin she pricked on the back of her husband's note—"We are here, more than a dozen women and children; send us help." The trooper went off and the poor creatures rallied their courage and "pounded over the burning sands, facing a scorching hot wind without even a rag to cover our heads." When they had crossed the sands, Mrs Queck, the Sergeant's wife, fell down in a fit of apoplexy and in a quarter of an hour she was dead. As her companions trudged on, they begged some villagers to bury her body. So died one of "the most gentle and kind-hearted creatures that ever existed." Soon after the party were met by elephants and carts which took them to Dholpore. Here they rested for the night. As daylight was coming on them they started in country carts for Mannea, which they reached in safety and found Captain Campbell. Here Mrs Gilbert gave birth to a daughter. The mutineers were, however, hovering around looking for Feringhees, and after a few hours' halt they again set forth. The mother and child were placed on a native cot and carried, while the rest travelled in their country carts. "Having got a strong guard from the Rana of Dholpore we proceeded in safety all night, and arrived next morning at 9 o'clock in Agra. Forlorn and desolate indeed was our condition."



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY DURAND, K.C.S.I., C.B.

CHAPTER II.

In Central India two Mahratta military leaders, Scindia of Gwalior and Holkar of Indore, alternately held the pre-eminence. After the Marquis of Hastings had crushed the wandering bandits of Central India, and brought to a successful close the Pindari war (1817), which gave a death-blow to Mahratta supremacy, Indore and Gwalior both became Protected Native States: and Indore, Holkar's capital, was selected as the headquarters of the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India. On the 16th of June news reached Indore that the Gwalior Contingent had risen, and Scindia's capital was in the hands of the mutineers. The Agent to the Governor-General at the time was Henry Marion Durand, a gallant soldier of eminent abilities and in the full sense of the word a good man. Indore.

Henry Marion Durand was born on the 6th November 1812. His father, an officer of cavalry of powerful build and great courage, had served on the staff of Sir John Moore and had accompanied his chief in the famous retreat through the mountains of Galicia. He was by his side when he fell at Corunna and helped to bury him at the dead of night. He afterwards took part in the crowning victory of Waterloo. His early death put an end Henry Marion Durand.

to a career full of promise. When his son had the choice of a nomination to Haileybury and the career of a civil administrator, or a cadetship to Addiscombe, he chose the profession dignified by danger. Henry Marion Durand was but a lad of thirteen when he entered the Company's Military Seminary which gave to the Empire so many gallant and illustrious soldiers. Eldred Pottinger, Vincent Eyre, and Napier of Magdala were at the time among the cadets. In June 1828 Durand left Addiscombe—having won many prizes, the sword for good conduct, and a commission in the Bengal Engineers. In October 1829 he sailed for India in the *Lady Holland*. Among his fellow-passengers was Alexander Duff, the first missionary from the Kirk of Scotland, and a friendship sprang up which lasted through life. When the cadet became Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Dr Duff wrote to congratulate him. Durand answered that when he looked back upon his career and contrasted it with that of the Scottish missionary, he felt it had been a mere flash in the pan. Like Henry Lawrence, Henry Durand presented the rare combination of practical activity and military valour with high culture and a serious interest in great questions. The wreck of the *Lady Holland* on the Dassan island, a small strip of rock and sand some forty miles from Table Bay, gave the young cadet an opportunity of showing the same calm courage which he displayed at the storming of Ghazni. After a stay of some weeks in a little cottage near Cape Town he again set sail and landed at Calcutta

Obtains a commission in the Bengal Engineers.

Lands at Calcutta, 1830

about the end of May. Three months later he was ordered to report himself to the Chief Engineer at Cawnpore. On arriving there he was directed to proceed to Meerut, where he was attached to the Department of Public Works. During the next fifteen months he was employed in surveying stations for European troops upon the outer spurs of the Himalayas, and in constructing barracks for the Himalayan sanatorium of Landaur.[1] Next we find him, always ardent and diligent, superintending the construction of canals, surveying for new works of irrigation, and giving his spare hours to the study of military history and languages. "I am reading Persian," he writes to a friend, "and what do you imagine I have hit upon to translate? Paley's 'Moral and Political Philosophy.' My Moonshee, I suspect, thinks me mad." Cæsar, "who at school was read without pleasure or amusement," he enjoyed vastly. "Many of his descriptions now strike me as interesting in the extreme, and make my blood tingle in the same manner that some parts of Napier's 'Peninsular War' effect. The latter work, I think I before told you, I rank as the first of English military works. Sallust, Virgil, and Horace are also in camp; but as I am now fagging at the 'soft bastard Latin,' in case I should by any great and unexpected good luck obtain permission to go to Italy to visit the canals of that country, I have very little time for my own friends. In fact my duty is so eternal and never-ending that I have

Joins the Department of Public Works.

[1] "The Life of Major-General Sir Henry Marion Durand, K.C.S.I., C.B.," by H. M. Durand, vol. i. p. 17.

to steal a few hours from night to enable me to get through a little Italian, that too when I often would much sooner sit and idle in consequence." Some years later (1835) his rich discovery of fossils on the Siwalik hills, a low range lying at the foot of and parallel to the Himalayas, led him to the study of palæontology, and he wrote several papers, descriptive of the most interesting specimens, for 'The Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society.' In 1837 he was placed by Lord Auckland on special duty in connection with a project for draining and reclaiming the Najafgarh swamp near Delhi.[1] The knowledge he had acquired of the people and of their land tenures during his outdoor work on the canals led to the young engineer officer being offered the post of Secretary to the Agra Board of Revenue. He was about to accept it when news of an advance into Afghanistan reached him. His strong military instincts led him to volunteer for military service, and he was attached to the army of the Indus as one of the two engineer officers charged, in addition to their ordinary duties, with the work of the Topographical Department. At the capture of the renowned fort of Ghazni, he discovered a feeling of genuine chivalry and complete intrepidity. He had been selected to command the party which was to blow in the Kabul Gate, but knowing that Captain Peat, who was his senior, expected the command, he requested that it might be given him. Durand *craved* that to him should be entrusted the hazardous

Study of palæontology.

Volunteers for military service.

First Afghan War.

[1] "The Life of Major-General Sir Henry Marion Durand, K.C.S.I., C.B.," by H. M. Durand, vol. i. p. 37.

operation of placing the powder and firing the train. The boon was granted. Close to the massive portal the native sappers piled the bags containing nine hundred pounds of powder. Durand and Sergeant Robinson laid the hose and a port-fire attached to it, along the foot of the scarp to a sally-port into which they stepped. The port-fire would not light, and Durand[1] was some time blowing at the slow match and port-fire before the latter caught and blazed. But it went out. Durand and the sergeant lit it again, and after watching it burn steadily for some moments, they retired to the sally-port. The enemy, expecting a general escalade, had manned the wide circumference of the walls, and sent forth from the ramparts a brisk fire of musketry. But they knew not the real danger. "Anxious, however, to discover the cause of the bustle which they partially heard in the direction of the important entrance, they now displayed a large and brilliant blue light on the widened rampart immediately above the gate. But they had not time to profit by its glare, when the powder exploded, shivered the massive barricade in pieces, and brought down in hideous ruin into the passage below masses of masonry and fractured beams." The fire from the ramparts swept the front companies under Colonel

Explosion of the Kabul Gate at Ghazni.

[1] Years afterwards Lord Clyde, then Sir Colin Campbell, ascertained from my father the truth of this story of which he had heard. His comment was a characteristic one: "By God, Durand," he exclaimed after a moment's silence, bringing his hand down with an emphatic slap upon his knee,—"By God, Durand, I would not have done that for my own father."—"The Life of Major-General Sir Henry Marion Durand, K.C.S.I., C.B.," by H. M. Durand, vol. i. p. 53.

Dennie and the reserve column under Brigadier Sale drawn up on the road, who awaited the bugle signal to advance from Peat's covering party. But the bugler had been shot through the head. Peat, "a cool brave soldier," returned to the column and reported the entrance was blocked. Above the sighing of the boisterous wind and the rattle of the musketry, Durand heard the bugler's signal of retreat. He had, with a keener observation, seen that no failure had taken place, and, unable himself by illness and an accident to run, sent the good tidings by a brother officer.[1] The bugle lifted its gallant note, the storming party advanced, and Ghazni was won. Shortly after the occupation of Kabul, Durand returned to India with Sir John Keane.

Durand's part in the Afghan campaign had greatly increased his reputation. It had also enabled him to acquire a considerable amount of information regarding Scinde, Afghanistan, and the Punjab. After his return he was mainly occupied in preparing a number of maps, plans, and reports connected with the campaign. In the spring of 1841, after eleven years passed in the East, he sailed for England. There was no cloud on the Indian horizon. Dost Muhammad had come into

Leave to England, 1841.

[1] "Keane, who was created a G.C.B. and Baron Keane of Ghazni, afterwards did ample justice to the gallantry and presence of mind of the young subaltern. 'Had it rested with me,' he said, 'I would have handed over to you my Cross of the Bath as the rightful owner of it.' And forty years later the 'Ghazni' medal was founded by some of the officers of my father's corps in remembrance of him."—"The Life of Major-General Sir Henry Marion Durand, K.C.S.I., C.B.," by H. M. Durand, vol. i. p. 57.

Kabul and surrendered. "Once more," Durand writes in his journal, "Lord Auckland's luck is beyond calculation, and promises to carry him through everything." Soon after reaching home Durand was introduced to Lord Ellenborough, who had been nominated to succeed Lord Auckland. Ellenborough asked him to write a military memoir on the Punjab for the Duke of Wellington, and offered him an appointment as aide-de-camp on his staff. Towards the close of November he sailed for India with his chief. At the end of February the ship approached Madras. No news from India had reached them since October. The future Governor-General asked if they were near enough to communicate with the shore. "I was told," says Lord Ellenborough, "we were, and I desired them to inquire whether there was any news. I took the telegraph book in my own hand to take down the answer. It came, 'Yes, very distressing from the North-West, the army destroyed.'[1] This was the first intimation I had on my arrival of the actual state of things then existing."

Sails for India with Lord Ellenborough.

Lord Ellenborough arrived at Calcutta on the 28th of February 1842, and immediately assumed the office of Governor-General of India. Shortly before landing he had appointed Durand to the post of Private Secretary, an office of great labour and responsibility, requiring sound judgment, considerable method and power of work. As the confidant of the ruler of an Empire, a Private Secretary must be brave and faithful, capable of executing orders

Appointed Private Secretary to the Governor-General.

[1] Speech in the House of Lords, delivered on the 10th August 1860.

punctually, of keeping secrets inviolably, of observing facts vigilantly, and of reporting them truly;[1] and such a man was Marion Durand. But he was of too commanding a spirit, too little of a diplomat, to be a popular Private Secretary. Loyalty and obedience, two of a soldier's cardinal virtues, being the essence of his character, he identified himself with the views and policy of a master whose vanity obscured his great energy and decision of character. Lord Ellenborough found the business of the Government conducted on a bad system, and he attempted to improve it. He wrote to the Duke of Wellington: "The most trifling things come before the Governor-General in Council and occupy the time while the Empire may be in danger. Lord Auckland told me I should find a great want of *instruments:* I could find them more easily in the army than in the Civil Service." And when he found better instruments in the army for appointments hitherto reserved for the protégés of the Court, he had to contend against the whole influence of the Court and of the Civil Service. Durand, as Private Secretary, also made many bitter foes on account of his master's honest and patriotic distribution of patronage. Lord Ellenborough was, however, too occupied with war and foreign policy to be able to effect any great improvement in the internal administration. Durand accompanied the Governor-General throughout the Gwalior campaign, and was by his side at Maharajpore, 28th December 1843, where the English once more

Present at the battle of Maharajpore.

[1] Macaulay's "Hist. of Eng.," chap. vii.

encountered the Mahrattas. Ellenborough was in the thick of the fight, which he "thoroughly enjoyed and seemed utterly regardless as to danger." For Maharajpore Durand received the star which was made from the metal of the captured guns.

In June 1844, Lord Ellenborough heard the news of his recall by the Court,[1] and on the 1st of August he embarked for England. Durand asked permission to accompany his chief, but the application having been refused, he accepted the post of Commissioner of the Tenasserim Province offered him by Sir Henry Hardinge, the new Governor-General. On the 18th of November 1844 George Broadfoot, the head of the illustrious garrison of Jalalabad, wrote to Lord Ellenborough—"Captain Durand I was delighted to find my successor in Tenasserim, the fittest man in India for the situation, able and benevolent."[2] Durand continued the good work begun by Broadfoot, who had in spite of strenuous opposition swept away many abuses, and introduced sound measures of reform. Durand was benevolent, but against evil-doers hard

Appointed Commissioner of the Tenasserim Province.

[1] On the 2nd of July 1844 Lord Ellenborough wrote to the Duke of Wellington:—

"I was perfectly prepared for my recall by the Court which I learnt by the last mail, the report I had received of their conduct having satisfied me that they intended to proceed to that extremity; but even knowing, as I have long done, all your generous kindness, I was hardly prepared for your speech, of which you sent the report to 'The Times,' a speech which would console me for much greater injustice and wrong than I have experienced at the hands of the Court."

[2] "The Career of Major-General Broadfoot, C.B.," by Major W. Broadfoot.

as flint. He was by nature incapable of making a compromise. He found that the valuable teak forests of the province were being rapidly destroyed by the European and Native speculators abusing their licenses to cut timber. The agents of a Calcutta firm were convicted by the Conservator of Forests of wanton destruction of timber in a portion of the forests held by them. The policy of the Commissioner was the substitution of Government management for the licensing system. The Moulmein merchants and the Moulmein press stormed against it. The Conservator of Forests brought a criminal charge against the editor of a paper for a gross libel, and a charge against a European for fraudulent conduct in timber transactions. Both cases were tried by Durand, who convicted the prisoners and sentenced the editor to imprisonment and fine. They sent a petition to the Deputy-Governor of Bengal, Sir Herbert Maddock, who, in the absence of the Governor-General in the Punjab, was the President in Council. The Deputy-Governor requested that the Calcutta judges would report on the case, and they reported against it on a purely technical point of the conviction. The Deputy-Governor as President in Council removed Durand from his post.[1] It would have been more chivalrous and decent, as he was dealing with a man to whom he was personally hostile, if he had left the final

The Deputy-Governor removes Durand from his post.

[1] As Director of Records I had an opportunity of reading the whole case. Durand behaved as a strong, honourable man, but his reply to the Bengal Secretary's letter was more warm than discreet.—[G. W. F.]

decision to the Governor-General. Methodical, with a firm and lofty soul and the purest motives for his guides, Durand had carried on the administration of the province steadily and ably, heedless of the calumnies of envy and avarice, but he had not that superficial sympathy and buoyant nature which furnish the power to reform abuses with the minimum of friction.

Lord Hardinge, on his return to Calcutta, offered Durand the situation of Chief Engineer at Lahore, the advanced post of the army. "This at all events will show," the Governor-General said, "that I am not displeased with him." This offer was refused in a letter which Lord Hardinge rightly characterised as "cold." Having declined the appointment in the Punjab, Durand sailed for England to lay his case before the Court of Directors. He obtained opinion of Counsel as to the legality of his views in the two Tenasserim cases, and armed with their opinion he presented his appeal. The Court had already approved of the orders of Sir Herbert Maddock, and he got the stereotyped reply which fresh proof can seldom modify. The Court saw no reason to alter their determination. The President of the Board of Control, Sir John Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton, however, told him that when he went back to India he should be employed exactly as he had been before, and should be no sufferer in any respect from what had passed. Durand sought consolation from the keenest of vexations, the vexation of injustice, in composition. He employed the winter and spring in writing his

Sails for England to lay his case before the Directors.

Writes "Sketch of the First Afghan War."

valuable "Sketch of the First Afghan War," which was published thirty years later, when the lessons of the first Afghan War had been forgotten and we were engaged in a second campaign in that country.

In June 1848 news reached England of the murder of Mr P. Vans Agnew, the Political Assistant, and Lieutenant Anderson who commanded the Sikh Escort, by the direction or under the authority of Moolraj, the governor of the district of Multan. Durand knew that the Sikhs had been defeated but not crushed in the first Sikh War, and that to grant them after their defeat the right to govern themselves was a generous but dangerous experiment. He felt certain that the outbreak at Multan would spread, and that the Sikhs would try another fall with their old antagonists. In July he sailed from England, but as the steamers were full he went in a sailing vessel and did not reach Calcutta till the beginning of December. Three weeks later he joined the Commander-in-Chief's army. At the sanguinary battle of Chillianwala he was throughout the day by the side of Lord Gough. At the crowning victory of Gujerat he served "with a very good officer," he writes, seven days after the action, "General Campbell of the 98th. He is a friend of Sir C. Napier, and as cool, brave, and judicious an officer as you can wish to see for a hot day's work." And Colin Campbell, who proved himself so cool and brave at Alma and Lucknow, warmly acknowledged Durand's important services in his despatch. For his services in the campaign Durand was made a Brevet-Major and received the

Sails from England, July 1848.

Present at Chillianwala and Gujerat.

Made a Brevet-Major for

war medal with two clasps. At the close of the war he was anxious to be again appointed Commissioner of Tenasserim, the post having become vacant. But it was impossible for Lord Dalhousie to pass such a slur on the government of his predecessor. The offer of the charge of a district in the Punjab was made to Durand, but it was at once refused, on the ground that "it would be very painful to enter upon the execution of duties of a subordinate character and under men—without intending the remotest reflection on any of them—to most of whom I have held superior appointments." This roused the ire of the great Viceroy, and Durand was informed that by his refusal of a Deputy Commissionership he had excluded himself altogether from employment in the Punjab. He was, however, offered the political post of Assistant Resident at the Court of Gwalior, which he accepted. About the time that Durand went to Gwalior, Sir Charles Napier landed at Calcutta (6th May 1849) as Commander-in-Chief. Soon after his arrival he offered Durand the command of the Sappers and Miners. "I want to know," he wrote, "if this will suit your book. . . . If it does, do let me hear from you directly. Nothing will gratify me more than that the first thing in my gift should go to one of Lord Ellenborough's friends, and *no job*, for that I do for no man living, intentionally. If I did, I could never look Lord Ellenborough in the face. Your claims appear to me to be stronger than those of any man above you." But Durand considered a grave wrong had been

His services in the campaign.

Appointed Assistant Resident at the Court of Gwalior.

done him, and he was determined to have a clear recognition of the fact by the bestowal of a post equivalent to the one of which he had been deprived. He refused the command of the Sappers and Miners, and, shortly after, when the offer of the Political Agency at the Muhammadan Court of Bhopal was made to him, he merely wrote a few lines expressing his readiness to "serve wherever the Governor-General might be pleased to employ him." A milder ruler than Dalhousie would have been moved to high resentment by such a provocation. The Commander-in-Chief wrote to Durand a letter which only Charles Napier could write: "You had no cause to give such an answer to the Governor-General as you have done. His desire has been to serve you. If he had not this desire, he might have left you to vegetate and taken no notice of you at all. . . . Were I in Lord Dalhousie's place I tell you honestly I would throw you overboard on receiving your answer. Had he done so, you could not have complained. His desire to serve you has been evident, and in return your answer is very little short of insult. I have never read a word on the subject, but you and others think Hardinge ill-used you. Well, *tell him so!* I thought Lord ...... ill-used me, and I told him so in *my* plain English; but I did not make a quarrel with his successor, because he did not make up to me for Lord ......'s foul treatment. . . . If one man insults you, you have no right to insist on an apology from another who has no concern with the quarrel, especially if he tries to make up to you for the ill-usage you

have received. I repeat to you, my dear friend, you are *wrong*, and were I in your place, I would say to Lord Dalhousie that I was sulky at the mischief done me by Lord Hardinge, and had in a fit of temper replied to Lord Dalhousie's kindness very improperly, and that I accepted his offer with gratitude to him."[1] Such an appeal it was hardly possible to disregard. Durand wrote a letter to Lord Dalhousie expressing his obligation to him. The imperious Governor-General was emphatically a great man whose spirit was raised high above the influence of any small passion. He told Napier, "Major Durand shall be Agent at Bhopal and stand as fair with me as ever he did." Again, "You are aware already that I think Major Durand an able and good man." During Durand's tenancy of the Agency at Bhopal, improvements were made in the judicial and revenue administration of the State; the financial disorder was converted into a surplus, and turbulent subjects were brought under control. The Agent won the goodwill and confidence of the famous "Secunder Begum," who conducted, under his supervision, the administration as regent during the minority of her daughter. The friendship between the Muhammadan Begum and Durand was of service in the hour of peril. When the flames of insurrection raged round her and she was threatened by her own fanatical subjects, Secunder Begum never tottered in her loyalty to the British Government. The British Resident, when at her Court,

Appointed Agent at Bhopal.

[1] "The Life of Major-General Sir Henry Marion Durand, K.C.S.I., C.B.," by H. M. Durand, vol. i. p. 134.

found time to carry on his studies and to labour eagerly on his essays dealing with the great questions of the time. Durand's style, a mirror of his own personality, was plain, terse, pure, and effective. Time has revealed faults in his papers, but they are not the faults of a vulgar and mechanical administrator. Scattered through them are passages which reveal that he could elevate his mind to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called the English in India. "Renowned as conquerors, and not unknown as tax-gatherers, it would not be wise to count, as yet, on having realised any great capital of popularity. The Anglo-Saxon in India moves upon the surface; darkness is on the face of the deep beneath him; and it remains to be seen whether he will be given that spirit and wisdom which can alone enable him to form, enlighten, and mould into a higher state of moral, intellectual, and physical civilisation the chaotic mass of people—ay, of nations—which acknowledge his supremacy."[1]

During the Bhopal days there was, however, little hope or cheerfulness, and Durand determined to resign his appointment and return to

Two years at home.

England. After two years at home, mainly spent in vainly attempting to get an appointment at the

Returns to Calcutta, January 1856.

Board of Control or the War Office, he returned to Calcutta on the 2nd of January 1856. He found himself, after eight-and-twenty years of distin-

[1] "The Life of Major-General Sir Henry Marion Durand, K.C.S.I., C.B.," by H. M. Durand, vol. ii. p. 144.

guished service, without any appointment. The writings of so robust a thinker as Durand laid the foundation of many important reforms, but they did not conduce to the official advancement of the writer. He was considered a dangerous man, and there was no room in the Political Department for a person of that description. After remaining three months without any employment, Henry Durand had to accept a subordinate post in the department in which he first made his mark. He was appointed Inspecting Engineer of the Presidency Circle. The post had one advantage—its headquarters was the capital. Durand came into personal contact with Lord Canning, who became impressed with a sense of his ability and power. The Governor-General asked him to write Memoranda on the great questions of the time—the occupation of Quetta, the war with Persia. Durand, as was his wont, expressed his views clearly, without diplomatic subtlety. The march of events has proved the fallacy of many of the arguments used in these State Papers, but they contain lessons and warnings which time cannot efface. "The gleam of empire is from British bayonets, but if a fixed and a small quantity of these has to cope with ever-expanding and diverging spheres of action, there must eventually come a limit of success." A few months before the fountains of the great deep of revolution were broken loose, he warned the Governor-General, and deprecated the proposed expedition to Herat through Afghanistan; and he warned against a perennial danger—the danger of denuding

India of British troops.[1] Lord Canning, slow and cautious, but a man of infinite tenacity and will, by degrees became convinced that Durand was strong and genuine, and in March, when Sir Robert Hamilton had, on account of his health, to go to England, he appointed him as Governor-General's Agent in Central India, one of the most important political posts in the Empire.

Appointed Governor-General's Agent in Central India.

The Central India Agency.

The territory known as the Central India Agency is a section of the triangular plateau that lies to the south-west of the Jumna, a territory whose history has been strongly influenced by its physical features. A land of rugged basalt hills, and fertile valleys watered by noble streams, it was marked off by nature to become the home of states founded by the younger son of a Rajput chief, the Moghul adventurer, or the Mahratta freebooter. When the Pindaris were crushed and British supremacy established in Central India, a multitude of petty states, whose territory varied from a few square miles to two or three thousand, were placed under the supervision of the officers of the British Government, whose chief was "the Agent of the Governor-General in Central India." Besides the petty states, there are in Central India six substantive or protected states which, having

[1] "Lord Canning was at the time distinctly disposed to go the other way. He had in fact written home that he could spare six regiments of European infantry for any operations out of India. These regiments were to have been drawn from our northern stations, mainly from the Punjab, upon the stability of which province, a few months later, so much was to depend."—"Life of Major-General Sir Henry Marion Durand, K.C.S.I., C.B.," by H. M. Durand, vol. i. p. 193.

vitality enough to preserve peace and order, were allowed to retain their independent powers of administration. These states are Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal, Dhar, Dewas, and Jowra, of which two (Bhopal and Jowra) are Muhammadan and the rest Mahratta.

Protected states in Central India.

The scattered dominions of Scindia are bounded on the north by the British districts of Agra and Etawah, and the protected states of Dholpore and Rajputana are conterminous with them on the north-west. Along the whole of these frontiers the river Chumbul forms the boundary line. To the north-east the Gwalior State extends almost to the point where the Chumbul and the Jumna are joined by a smaller tributary known as the Sind, which divides it from the protected States of Bundelcund. On the south the river Betwa separates it from the British districts. To the south, between the Gwalior State and British territory, lies the Muhammadan State of Bhopal. To the west of Bhopal is the dominion of Holkar, which stretches beyond the Nerbudda, hardly less sacred in the eyes of the Hindu than the holy Ganges. About forty miles north of the Nerbudda, on a plateau some two thousand feet above the sea, is situated in an isolated fraction of the state, Indore, the capital. Indore is an artificial and not a geographical capital, and as the state was built up by a series of spoliations, the capital is separated from the remaining parts of the dominion by the smaller states which, though robbed, survived. To the north and north-east lies, separating it from a portion of its

Indore.

territory, the Mahratta state of Dewas, which before the British occupation was sorely oppressed by Scindia and Holkar and plundered of many districts. To the west, the Mahratta state of Dhar separates it from territory plundered from the noble Puar family. To the north of the state lies Jowra. But in this case the Mahratta chief had to bestow a fief on a Moslem adventurer. To the north of Jowra the dominion of Holkar stretches into Rajputana, by which it is surrounded on three sides. Gwalior, Indore, and the other states of the Central India Agency are geographical expressions, being merely names given to portions of the great triangular peninsula divided by no marked natural boundaries. The geographical position of the peninsula was itself, however, during the Mutiny of vital importance. Through it, from the Nerbudda on the south to the river Chumbul on the north, ran the great highway which connected Bombay with Madras. It was also the chief route for telegraphic communication between Calcutta and the Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

Tookajee Rao Holkar.

On the 5th of April Sir Henry Durand assumed charge of the office of Agent to the Governor-General. The Chief of the State was Tookajee Rao Holkar, like Scindia, a young man. He owed his accession to the throne to the Resident, Sir Robert Hamilton, who, on the failure of lineal heirs, had placed him on the Musnud without waiting for direct instructions from the Government. His conduct surprised them and called

forth a severe censure. The Resident was informed that by his proceedings an opportunity had been lost to Government of marking an important line of policy. In a letter to the young chief, the Governor-General laid down the conditions on which the State was conferred on him. Nine quiet years followed,—nine years during which the lad was educated with care and learnt to read and speak English, but he never could write it with any ease. The education was purely literary and superficial. Tookajee Rao remained a Mahratta cultivator, endowed with all the cunning of a rustic. In 1852 he was entrusted with the entire management of the affairs of the State. It was a grave misfortune that Sir Henry Durand did not have time before the outbreak to impress his robust personality on the young chief, and to gain his confidence as he had gained the confidence of the Begum of Bhopal.[1]

[1] "It was the habit, therefore, at the Indore Durbar, when Hamilton returned to England, not without some mental inquietude as to the results of his absence, to speak out freely—to ventilate grievances and to expound the supposed means of remedying them. But Durand could not tolerate this. A man of an imperious temper, with a profound belief in the immense inferiority of the Asiatic races, he esteemed it to be the worst presumption in a Mahratta prince or noble to openly express an opinion of his own in the presence of the representative of the British Government. And, for this, or for some other reason which I cannot even conjecture, he seems never to have had any feeling of personal kindness towards the young Maharajah. There was an antipathy which, perhaps, was reciprocated."—"A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-1858," vol. iii. p. 327. A British Resident of less imperious temper than Durand would not tolerate a native ruler ventilating his grievance against the Government of which he was the representative, in the presence of his chief people. Durand was a man of iron. His will, like his frame, was cast in an heroic mould. But as

Three weeks after he entered on his duties at Indore, news reached Durand that a sepoy of the 37th Bengal Native Infantry had been caught in the act of carrying a treasonable message to the Rewah Durbar. There was reason to believe that he was one of several emissaries sent to test the fidelity of the Native Chiefs.

Immediately after, there came tidings of the mutinous behaviour of the 3rd Cavalry at Meerut, then a report that the 7th Oudh Regiment, stationed seven miles from the Oudh Cantonments, had refused to bite the cartridge. The wind of mutiny was growing. But on the 11th of May Durand wrote to Lord Canning, "I have no reason to suppose that any of the contingents of Central India have as yet shown any disposition to sympathise with the disaffected movement. Rumours of an uncomfortable feeling existing among the Mhow native troops I have heard, but nothing definite and nothing to which I attach any importance." Mhow is an important military station between thirteen and fourteen miles south-west of Indore. The garrison at the time consisted of one company of artillery, Europeans 91, Natives 93; Right Wing of the 1st Light Cavalry, Europeans 13, Natives 282; the 23rd Bengal Native Infantry, Europeans 16, Natives 1178. Colonel Platt of the 23rd Native Infantry, who commanded the station, had served

Letter to the Governor-General, 11th May 1857.

Sir Auckland Colvin says, the combination of extreme strength and tenderness was his great charm. When Lord Mayo announced his death, he wrote that the sad intelligence "will be received in every part of the Empire with feelings of the keenest regret not only among the brethren of the service but his many friends."

for more than thirty years in that regiment, and, in the previous year, when an opportunity occurred for his joining a European corps, the men had unanimously entreated him not to leave them.

News of the outbreak at Meerut and the massacre at Delhi, 13th May 1857.

Two days after Durand despatched his letter to the Governor-General, he received an unintelligible telegram from Agra regarding the outbreak at Meerut and the massacre at Delhi. The next day he received a more definite account. It was a critical situation. The revolt of the Native Infantry at Mhow might or might not follow. The first aim of the Resident was to protect the Residency, to guard the treasure, which was considerable, and to prevent the contagion of mutiny spreading from the men of the regular army to the sepoys of the Contingent. The only troops stationed in Indore for the protection of the treasure and other buildings was a regiment of the Malwa Contingent two hundred strong. This contingent was supported at the expense of the various dependent princes and chiefs of Malwa. It was mainly recruited from the same class as the Bengal sepoy, and was practically part and parcel of the Bengal Army. It was, like the Gwalior Contingent, paid by one master, governed by another master, and owed allegiance to no one. Holkar's troops, the number and payment of which were regulated by treaty, consisted of about 642 artillerymen, 3820 cavalry, and 3145 infantry, including the contingent of horse which he was bound to furnish to the British Government. At Sirdarpore, about forty miles from Indore, was stationed the Malwa

Bhil Contingent, recruited from the wild tribes of Western and Central India, which Outram had reclaimed. Durand now summoned to his aid two hundred and seventy of these Bhils. From Sehore, the headquarters of the Bhopal Contingent, he ordered two troops of cavalry, two hundred and seventy infantry, and two guns.

The Resident visits the Maharajah.

On the 15th of May the Resident paid a visit to the Maharajah. "The visit was private, we were received with no show, and our object ostensibly was to see the Gardens of the Lallbagh. Colonel Durand and the Maharajah had a strictly private interview, I being the only other person present. Colonel Durand applied to the Maharajah for the aid of his troops in the event of a mutiny breaking out at Mhow before the force sent from Sehore[1] could arrive. The Maharajah readily promised every assistance, but at the same time stated that his men were not equal to cope with regular troops, that he had but little ammunition, and that he would require three hours' notice to enable him to move his troops from their lines up to the Residency."[2] Durand ordered the ammunition to be sent to him from the Mhow magazine.

The following day news arrived that the officers of the 23rd Bengal Native Infantry were doubtful of their men, and a native was sent to the Maharajah with a request for troops. "These were

[1] About one hundred miles from Indore.

[2] From Captain W. R. Shakspear, Officiating 1st Assistant Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, to Sir Robert Hamilton, British Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, 16th January 1858.

almost immediately after countermanded, but not before the orders had been issued by the Maharajah. This of course caused no slight commotion in the city."[1] On the 30th the detachment of the Bhopal Contingent and the Malwa Bhil Corps arrived at Indore. So the month of May wore to a close.

News of the mutiny at Nusseer-abad and Neemuch.

On the 1st of June news reached Indore of the mutiny at Nusseerabad, fifteen miles from Ajmir, the headquarters of the Rajputana Field Force. The following day Durand went to Mhow in order to make a requisition in person for the European Battery. "But on his return he stated that Colonel Platt's arrangements were so satisfactory there, that he had no fear of the Native regiments there escaping punishment if they attempted to mutiny, and he had therefore not applied for the Battery." On the 6th of June there came tidings of the mutiny at Neemuch, an important military station situated on the border of Scindia's territory to the north-west of Indore. The conflagration had spread from Nusseerabad to Neemuch. When the story of the Neemuch outbreak reached Mhow it was bound to create a profound impression among the sepoys and sowars. The leaders of the Neemuch mutiny belonged to the left wing of the First Cavalry. That day Durand ordered the Bhopal Contingent's two guns to be moved up to the west face of the Residency, a double-storied house built of stone, situated in a park about four hundred

The Residency at Indore.

[1] From Captain W. R. Shakspear, Officiating 1st Assistant Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, to Sir Robert Hamilton, British Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, 16th January 1858.

yards east of the Khan river and about two miles south-east of the town. On the north-western side of the park ran the Mhow road, which crossed the river by a bridge. Within the park were houses for the Political Assistants to the Agent, the post-office, the telegraph-office, and the treasury and bazaar. Durand posted the cavalry of the Bhopal Contingent in the square of the Residency stables situated to the north of the house, and the infantry in tents between the post-office and the stables. "The Maharajah was likewise applied to for troops, and he furnished three guns (six-pounders, afterwards changed for nine-pounders), a company of infantry, and two troops of cavalry. The infantry and guns were placed near the opium godown at the entrance to the bazaar, the cavalry in the Nawab of Jourah's compound."[1] On the 9th Durand wrote to Colonel Platt expressing his gratification at hearing that the 23rd Bengal Native Infantry had volunteered against the mutineers. He accepted their offer, and if the First Cavalry likewise volunteered, he was ready to accept theirs. The following day news reached Indore of the revolt of the United Malwa Contingent Cavalry, and of the murder of their Commanding Officer and Adjutant. Durand went to see the Maharajah at his palace in the city. "He was evidently much distressed at the news, and told Colonel Durand that his own cavalry and the United Malwa Contingent Cavalry were as one, and that he feared his would now revolt, that he had no

[1] The Nawab's compound was to the north-west of the Residency.

confidence in them. He begged Colonel Durand's advice and counsel, which it was promised should be sent the Maharajah afterwards in writing."[1] It was suggested to Durand that the treasure should be moved into the Residency, for then they would have only one place to defend in case any attack was made. "Colonel Durand objected on the score of such a move causing a panic, and that the sight of so much treasure in the open would be too great a temptation to the troops." It was also proposed that the Maharajah's three guns should be brought up to the Residency, as they would then be more under British control. "The cause of this proposition was that the Sikh cavalry stationed in the Stable Square had more than once brought to notice that of a night the Maharajah's three guns were shifted and had been brought to bear on the square, so as to rake it diagonally. The officer in charge of these lines, I believe, refused to move them from their position unless their own company of infantry was allowed to accompany them." Durand vetoed the proposal on the ground that to move the guns would cause a panic. Captain Ludlow, Superintending Engineer Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, and Captain Cobbe, Executive Engineer at Mhow, "then proposed to entrench the Residency; this also was not permitted by Colonel Durand."[2] It would not

[1] From Captain W. R. Shakspear, Officiating 1st Assistant Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, to Sir Robert Hamilton, Bart., Agent to the Governor-General for Central India.

[2] Ibid., 16th January 1858.

have been easy to entrench the Residency, for, as Lieutenant-General Travers states, "it stands upon ground not having an inch of soil in depth."[1] The attempt to fortify the place would, Durand felt, increase the fears and suspicions of the sepoys, which had already been aroused by the news that the Governor of Bombay, Lord Elphinstone, was sending a column under the command of Major-General Woodburn to Mhow. "I wish," he wrote on the 13th of June, "that I could give you a satisfactory account of the state of the troops at Mhow. The 23rd Native Infantry is, I think, more disposed to remain quiet than the wing of the 1st Cavalry. The troopers of the latter are said to be taunting and urging the infantry to rise. Both, however, are in fear of the European battery, and also of the guns and troops here. They are in fear, too, of the column from Bombay, which they suspect to have a punitive mission for themselves. The officers are endeavouring to assure them that they have nothing to dread provided they remain orderly and quiet. If the Mhow troops rise, it will probably be as much owing to the apprehensions so insidiously spread amongst them, of stern measures being in store for suspected corps, as to anything else. We sadly want the capture of Delhi to act as a sedative on chiefs and people and the smouldering spirit of revolt." The day before, he had received information from Agra that Delhi had fallen. Three days later there came the evil tidings

[1] "The Evacuation of Indore, 1857," by Lieutenant-General Jas. Travers, V.C., C.B., p. 63.

that the Gwalior Contingent had mutinied, and that Scindia's capital was in their hands. Communication with Agra by the main road was cut off. The news was a grave blow to the hopes of Durand, but there remained the expectancy of the arrival of Woodburn's column. And Delhi he believed had fallen. On the 28th Lord Elphinstone telegraphed to him that Woodburn could not advance. He wished to know what effect it would have on Central India. Durand promptly replied that he could not answer one hour for the safety of the country if the fact became known that the column was not marching on Mhow. He urged the Governor of Bombay to push on the force without delay. Lord Elphinstone telegraphed in reply that Woodburn's advance had not been countermanded. But the mischief had been done. The contents of the first telegram had become known in the bazaar and were eagerly discussed. At the same time it also became known in the town that Delhi had not fallen.[1]

Outbreak at Indore, 1st July 1857.

On the morning of the 1st of July Durand received a letter from Agra, dated the 20th of June, stating that the report of the fall of Delhi was not true. The British position had been repeatedly attacked: it was all our slender force could do to hold their own: and no assault would be made till reinforcements had arrived. Durand was busy framing a telegram to convey the contents of the letter to the Governor of Bombay

[1] "The Life of Major-General Sir Henry Marion Durand, K.C.S.I., C.B.," by H. M. Durand, C.S.I., vol. i. p. 212.

when a native messenger rushed into the room and said there was a tumult in the bazaar. A great noise, approaching nearer and nearer, confirmed the intelligence. Durand left his desk and walked to the steps of the Residency. At that moment he heard the roar of guns. Holkar's three nine-pounders, which had been brought down for the protection of the Residency, "were pouring rounds of grape into the Bhopal Contingent Cavalry at its pickets and the infantry in their *tents*—all, of course, quite unprepared—many cooking, others bathing."[1] A little after eight that morning Saadat Khan, a man of weight in Indore and an officer in Holkar's Cavalry, followed by eight troopers, had galloped from the direction of Indore to the Durbar troops posted between the city and the Residency, shouting, "Get ready; come on; kill the Sahibs: it is the order of the Maharajah." The Durbar troops turned out at once and, screeching their religious cries, formed up. The gunners placed their guns in position and opened fire. The infantry, joined by the rabble of the town eager for blood and plunder, murdered thirty-nine British subjects — European and Eurasian women and children who had remained in their homes.

Major Travers. A gallant charge.

Travers was about to enter the orderly room when the grape came whistling through the lines. He at once hastened to the picket in the Residency Stable Square and placed himself at the head of the few cavalry ready, though not properly formed. It

[1] "Annals of the Indian Rebellion," p. 842.

was a great moment. Less than twenty sabres against three guns and infantry supporting them. He gave the order to charge. "As I cast my eye back, and found only six or seven following me, and not in good order, much as I despise the Mahrattas as soldiers, I saw we could not by any possibility make an impression. Still, at it I went; to draw rein or turn after giving the order to charge was too much against the grain. I came in for a large share of the most polite attention. My horse was wounded in three places; I had to parry a sabre-cut with the back of my sword; but God, in His great mercy, protected me, and the dastardly gunners threw themselves under their guns. Had I had thirty or forty good sowars at the time, with their hearts in the right place, I would have captured their three guns and cut their 200 infantry to pieces; but what could half a dozen do against so many?"[1] The enemy now moved the guns into the place in front of the Residency. Meanwhile Durand had made hasty preparations for its defence, and had written to Colonel Platt: "Send the European battery as sharp as you can. We are attacked by Holkar." On Travers' return from the charge the message was despatched to Mhow by a trooper. The two Bhopal guns were pushed forward to the right flank of the Residency and ordered to open fire. They were worked so effectively by the fourteen native loyal gunners under Sergeants Orr and

Defence of the Residency.

[1] Letter from Major Travers, 4th July 1857.

Murphy[1] that they disabled a field-piece of the enemy and drove back their supports. The rest of the cavalry now came up and asked to be led to the charge. Travers could find no bugler, nor could he get the men into proper order. "They seemed uncertain whom to trust—who were friends or who were foes; and to lead them on as they then were would have been destruction. They would have been taken in flank by Holkar's numerous cavalry and overthrown." News now reached Travers that the infantry were in a state of mutiny. The Bhopal Contingent levelled their muskets at their officers and drove them off. The Mehidpore Contingent refused to obey orders and remained sullenly aloof. The Bhils were formed, but they would not fight. Travers then posted them in the Residency in the hope that under cover they would at least fire their muskets. But when the cannon-balls of the enemy came crashing into the building they abandoned their posts and rushed into the inner room. There were now only fourteen faithful native gunners, eight combatant officers, two doctors, two sergeants, and five European civilians to defend a vast building which was by its construction almost incapable of defence. The forces were unequally matched. Durand had only

[1] "Captain Cobbe of the Madras Artillery had at first tried to take command. Though so prostrated by illness that the Agency Surgeon told him it was as much as his life was worth to move, Cobbe managed to crawl to the guns; and there he remained for a time, too weak to stand, but showing a noble example of soldierly spirit and courage."—"The Life of Major-General Sir Henry Marion Durand, K.C.S.I., C.B.," by H. M. Durand, C.S.I., vol. i. p. 214.

two guns, the enemy had three nine-pounders, and Durand knew that some twenty-nine other guns might at any moment be brought against him. Holkar's infantry was about two thousand strong. His cavalry mustered fourteen hundred sabres, and this mass of trained men would be aided by the rabble of the city. Two hundred mutinous sepoys were within the Residency enclosure. The cannonade had now lasted two hours. "Holkar's horse and foot with additional guns came crowding down to support the attack." The battery summoned from Mhow could not arrive for two hours, and if it fought its way into the Residency against "overwhelming numbers," it could only prolong the defence for a short time. There could be no question of standing a siege, for there was no food and only one well, exposed to the fire of the enemy, who occupied the enclosures and buildings immediately in front of the Residency. "No field artillery," writes General Travers, "could drive the enemy from such a position: infantry could alone do this." The infantry consisted of five hundred mutinous sepoys within the Residency enclosure, who at any moment might join the foe. The Bhopal Contingent were staunch, but beyond the control of their officers. Then Captain Mayne, their commander, brought a short and formal message. They had heard that some of Holkar's guns and cavalry were moving round to cut off the retreat, and they were going to consult their own safety by leaving at once. They begged that this last chance might be taken of saving the

women and children. Durand had blown open the gates at Ghazni. In such a man a soldier's death was gain. He had now to make the greatest sacrifice which a soldier can offer up to duty. It was not his own life or his fair fame that he had to consider; it was the lives of the women and children. It would have been an act of folly to continue the vain conflict. "Although he could have held the Residency for a few hours longer," wrote Colonel Travers, "we should have been unable to withdraw the poor helpless women and children."[1] Durand, Travers, and every officer present knew that even if they held out for a few hours the position was ultimately hopeless. And if they delayed there was a certainty of their retreat being cut off.

The Residency abandoned.

Durand decided to abandon the Residency. It was the most miserable morning of his life. "First," he wrote, "came the humiliation of being forced to withdraw before an enemy that I despised, and who, could I have got anything to fight, would have been easily beaten back. As it was, with only fourteen Golundauze who would stand by their guns, we not only held our own for about a couple of hours, but beat back their guns and gained a temporary advantage. So that we retired unmolested in the face of the superior masses, whose

[1] "I had carefully reviewed our position, and was turning to inform Durand I considered it was hopeless, and that I could do no more, when he came and gave me his opinion, which was identical with my own and, as I afterwards learnt, with that of every officer present."—Letter from Major Travers, dated Sehore, 4th July 1857.

appetites for blood had been whetted by the murder of unarmed men, women, and children. Of all the bitter, bitter days of my life, I thought this the worst, for I never had to retreat, still less to order a retreat myself, and though the game was up, and to have held on was to insure the slaughter of those I had no right to expose to such a fate, without an adequate hope or object, still my pride as a soldier was wounded beyond all expression, and I would have been thankful if any one had shot me." The women and children retired to the back of the Residency while the guns were raking the front. The carriages and horses were in the hands of the mutineers. "We mounted the gun-waggons," writes a brave woman, "sitting upon the shot- and powder-boxes, and were slowly dragged by bullocks. The guns with the few cavalry and some infantry who did not desert us followed with the officers. As we retreated over the plain we saw the smoke of the burning bungalows and for some time heard heavy firing, the shot from the enemy's guns passing close among us; mercifully not a soul was hit." As the withdrawal was being effected, the Bhopal Contingent Cavalry closed in, and Travers experienced no difficulty in getting the men in line and in hand "sufficiently at any rate to allow of our assuming a threatening attitude which might prevent pursuit, and give our people a start of some miles."[1] It was impossible for Durand to make his way to Mhow, for his handful

[1] "The Evacuation of Indore, 1857," by Lieut.-General Jas. Travers, V.C., C.B., p. 17.

of men, women, and children would have, at the first portion of their journey, to run the gauntlet of the enemy's fire, and he determined to wend his way on the line of Woodburn's advance. The imminent danger which must have beset the European battery if they had left Mhow was, however, a source of grave anxiety. Travers wrote two notes stating that Durand[1] had evacuated Indore, and that they were endeavouring to effect a retreat by the Simrole Ghat.[2] Two troopers, at a quarter of an hour's interval, were despatched with these notes. On arrival at the village of Tellore, ten miles from Indore, the inhabitants informed the fugitives that a considerable body of Holkar's troops with guns had occupied the Simrole Ghat. The men of the Bhopal Contingent now declared that they must return to Sehore, their headquarters. "The Seikhs said that unless they did so their families would be dishonoured and slaughtered by the Mussulmans, while the latter professed a like dread of the former. Both urged our accompanying them. They assured us they would escort us with their lives in safety to Sehore, be loyal to us there, and should we desire to leave Sehore, they would escort us to any station we might name. Durand reluctantly changed his route, and

[1] "The Evacuation of Indore, 1857," by Lieut.-General Jas. Travers, V.C., C.B., p. 17.

[2] "I did not mention Sehore, and whatever the trooper added was obviously his own invention."—Ibid., p. 17. Sir John Kaye is inaccurate when he states that the pencil notes from Travers stated that Durand and other Europeans had evacuated the Residency and were retreating upon Sehore.—"Kaye," vol. iii. p. 338.

set forth for Sehore. On the 3rd of July, he reached Ashta in Bhopal territory. "The guard drawn up upon the banks of the Parbati and across our road, and the crowd with it, made many think their last hour had come. The women and children were dismounted from the limbers, and the guns got ready for action, when a messenger arrived to announce it was the Guard of Honour! It was a relief." On the 4th of July, Durand, with the guns and every European who had reached the Residency at Indore on the morning of the outbreak, arrived at Sehore. His old friend the Begum still ruled Bhopal and was loyal to the core, but she told him "that the whole of India is now at enmity with us, that our remaining here is a source of weakness to her and endangers the State and her." After a day's stay, Durand, with the view of getting into communication with General Woodburn, set forth for Hoshangabad, on the southern bank of the Nerbudda. On his arrival there, he heard what had taken place at Mhow.

Durand reaches Hoshangabad.

CHAPTER III.

Mhow, 1st July 1857.

ON the morning of the 1st of July, about 11 A.M., Colonel Platt called at Captain Hungerford's bungalow and handed him Durand's note, requesting that the European battery should be sent to his aid. Hungerford rode down to the barracks and turned out the battery. As no escort was ordered to accompany it, two men armed with muskets, mounted on the limber boxes, were told off for each gun and waggon. In his letter to the Brigade-Major, dated Saugor, the 2nd of July, Hungerford states he left Mhow "at about half-past eleven." The battery had trotted half-way to Indore when a sowar rode up to him with a note in pencil from Colonel Travers stating, "We are retreating on Simrole, on the Mundlaysir road from Indore." "The sowar added that Colonel Durand and the officers and ladies from the Residency were with Colonel Travers; that Colonel Durand had not retired on Mhow, as Mhow was in Holkar's territories, and would be attacked by Holkar's troops either that night or the following morning. There being no road to Simrole which I could follow, the battery was brought back to Mhow as quickly as possible." [1]

Besides sending the European battery to Indore,

[1] Letter to the Secretary to Government, Bengal, Mhow Fort, 17th July 1857.

Colonel Platt "despatched the two flank companies of the 23rd Regiment, Native Infantry, under command of Captain Trower, and accompanied by Lieutenant Westmacott, down the road to Bombay, with orders to bring back into cantonments, at all hazards, two 9-pounder brass guns, belonging to the Maharajah, which had passed through Mhow two hours previously."[1] A troop of 1st Light Cavalry under Captain Brooke was also sent with the detachment; on overtaking the guns, they "charged them, and the capture was effected without any loss on our side."[2] Some of Holkar's gunners were killed. About 3 P.M. the guns were brought into the fort. Meanwhile, Colonel Platt was devoting his care to the task of defending the cantonments against any attack by Holkar's troops from Indore. In the loyalty of his own men the gallant old soldier had the most profound belief. A picket of Light Cavalry was thrown out about five miles on the Indore road under two lieutenants,

[1] Report of Brevet-Major Cooper, 23rd Native Infantry Headquarters, Mhow, 9th July 1857.

[2] "Some of my men demurred at being sent to this duty and lagged behind; but on the whole I was satisfied with their conduct, especially when, on nearing the guns (two brass 9-pounders, manned by about twenty-five artillerymen), they charged them, and the capture was effected without any loss on our side."—Letter from Captain Brooke, I.B.C., to the Deputy Adjutant-General.

"On the 1st of the month, news came in from Indore that the Rajah's troops had arisen and slaughtered every European, forty in number. I heard nothing of it; but the commanding officer came to my bungalow, saying, 'You are on duty, to go and retake some guns with the 3rd troop.' We went; and most marvellous to say, took them the first charge, Brooke and I together. The men demurred at first, but afterwards followed well. We were all surprised, as we knew they were in an unsettled state. The guns were brought to the fort."—Letter from an officer, Fort Mhow, 6th June.

and another of fifty sepoys under Lieutenant Simpson to the north of the cantonments near a ravine. The women and children who had taken refuge in the Artillery barracks were moved into the arsenal, or fortified square, and the European battery sent to guard it.[1] "All officers were ordered to proceed to the lines of their men and remain there all night, ready to turn out at a moment's notice, and the men were kept accoutred. The arsenal guard was increased by thirty men; and everything was ready to resist the attack if possible."[2]

Mutiny at Mhow.

About 9.30 P.M. the officers of the 1st Cavalry, after having dined at mess, went to their lines. Captain Brooke and the subaltern who had ac-

[1] Captain Hungerford writes: "Colonel Platt met me on re-entering cantonments. I gave him Colonel Travers' note, and told him what the sowar had said, requesting permission at the same time to take my battery into the fort, as the fort could be defended for any length of time. Colonel Platt would not hear of it. At the Artillery barracks all the wives and families of officers and men had taken refuge. The barracks could not be well defended, from their extent and position. I urged repeatedly on Colonel Platt, during the afternoon, the advisability of defending the fort; but only at the very last moment could he be persuaded to allow me to enter it. At half-past 6 P.M. Colonel Platt rode down to the Artillery barracks and told me to enter the fort."—Letter to the Secretary to Government, Bengal, 17th July 1857.

Captain Trower, 23rd Native Infantry, writes: "Fort, July 6th. However, in riding away from the lines I saw the men collected in groups talking, and some with muskets in their hands; this made me more suspicious, and I went and reported it to the Colonel; he, poor man, thanked me, but evidently did not doubt the good faith of the regiment. . . . However, thank God, my representations, coupled with assistance of the officer commanding the artillery, made him give orders for the occupation of the place we are in now."

[2] Captain Hungerford writes: "He had strengthened the guard at the gateway to fifty men from his own regiment."—Letter to the Secretary to Government, Bengal, 17th July 1857.

companied him in the morning expedition had a tent pitched two or three yards in front of the main guard. After seeing that their horses were ready for action, they went to the tent and tried to sleep. About ten o'clock a small bungalow in front caught fire. Brooke's companion went out to see the cause of this. On reaching the guard, he found Lieutenant Martin, the Adjutant, in the centre of the men talking to them. "I joined him, and observed one man in my troop—a villain; he had his carbine, and began to cavil with Martin about some men Brooke and I had killed in the morning. I, feeling sleepy, said to Martin, 'I'll turn in,' but, good God! I had hardly turned my back, and got to Brooke's side, when an awful shriek arose from the men, and the bullets whizzed round us in torrents." The subaltern leapt out of the tent and saw Martin rushing across the parade amid wild yells. He reached him, and Brooke followed. "We felt our last moment had come, but we ran for it. I led to the fort, a mile off. The men kept following us, and the bullets fell thick. Having got across the parade-ground about 500 or 600 yards, we came to the hill with the church at the top: and when at the top Martin caught hold of me exclaiming, 'For God's sake, stop!' I caught hold of his arm and said, 'Only keep up and follow,' but at this moment I felt I was done. We parted, as I thought, only to meet in death."[1] Brooke and the officer of the 1st Cavalry

[1] Letter from an officer belonging to 1st Cavalry, Fort Mhow, 6th July.

rushed on. "By this time the infantry had all risen; and as I ran, the ground was torn up with bullets and they fell thick around me. Their lines were in a direct line between the fort and ours, so that we poor fellows had to run the gauntlet of both fires." On approaching a bungalow about a quarter of a mile from the fort he saw two natives and rushed up to them. He "simply took their hands, barely able to speak, and said, 'Save me.' They did—to them I owe my life." The men of the infantry regiment were fast advancing, screeching their religious cry, and the two natives hid him in a small house. Some sepoys came to it, but they could not find him. Then there was a lull. His native friends had disguised him in their clothes. He opened the door and ran for the fort. "Can I ever make you feel the deep thankfulness that was in my heart as I ran across the open plain up the hill to the fort. The artillerymen were manning the walls, and the sentry's call was never more thankfully received; and I cried, 'Friend! friend!' and found myself inside." [1]

The officers of the 23rd Regiment dined that night at the Sergeant-Major's house close to the lines. After dinner they sat in a group outside to enjoy the cool of the night. Then it was proposed that they should go to their beds at the bell-tents of each of their companies. As they were moving away some one said, "The report is, the regiment will rise at ten to-night." The Major answered,

[1] Letter from an officer belonging to 1st Cavalry, Fort Mhow, 6th July.

"Oh, very well; let's wait and see." The words were hardly uttered when they heard shots in the cavalry lines, and rushed towards their companies. They were received with shots, and with difficulty made their way to the fort. On the arrival of the fugitives at the fort, Colonel Platt, who commanded, ordered the native guard to be disarmed and turned out of the fort. He also ordered the European battery to turn out. He then called upon the officers to follow him and do what they could to stop the outbreak. Captain Fagan knew it was hopeless, for he had been obliged to run the gauntlet of the men's fire; but he at once responded, and mounted his horse, remarking only that it was too late. Platt replied, "You are the man I always took you for." Half an hour passed before the battery moved out. The horses were knocked up by their morning's work, and several of the drivers had deserted. As it advanced up the infantry parade it was several times fired upon, but no rebel could be seen. The blazing bungalows illuminated the ground, but the huts of the sepoys were in darkness. When opposite the centre of the infantry lines Hungerford halted, expecting to be joined by the Colonel and the Adjutant. No sign of them. The sepoys again opened fire. Hungerford unlimbered and fired several rounds of grape and round shot into the lines. "There was some groaning and noise but nothing visible, and in a few minutes everything was perfectly quiet."[1] The

The European battery leaves the fort.

[1] From Captain T. Hungerford to the Secretary to Government, Bengal, Mhow Fort, 17th July 1857.

the fort and buried "in the corner of the bastion, all three in one grave."

The officers now formed themselves into a volunteer corps and relieved the artillerymen of their night watches, snatching sleep and food when and where they could. The women, most of them of gentle birth, "were huddled together, and they had to do everything for themselves, and employ all their time in sewing bags for powder for the guns, well knowing the awful fate that awaits them if the place is taken; there has not been a sign of fear, they bring us tea or any little thing they can, and would like to keep watch on the bastions if we would let them." **Defence of the fort.**

On the 3rd of July, Hungerford was informed that Holkar's troops, accompanied by the mutineers from Mhow, meant to attack the fort. Every preparation was made to meet it, and Hungerford, having been left alone at Mhow without any political officer, assumed political authority, and wrote to the Maharajah as follows:—

"I understand, from many natives, that you have given food to the mutinous troops. I have heard also, but do not know whether to believe, that you have lent them guns and offered them irregular cavalry as assistance. These reports are probably very much exaggerated: I do not believe them. You owe so much to the British, and can be so utterly ruined by showing enmity towards them, that I do not believe you can be so blind to your own interests as to afford aid and show friendship to the enemies of the British Government. Let me understand, therefore, from yourself what your wishes are. From your not throwing obstacles in the way of the mutinous troops passing through your **Hungerford's letter to Holkar.**

territory, and not punishing them, as a power friendly to the British would do, many may suppose that you are not so much the friend of the British Raj as I believe you to be. Write, therefore, and let me understand your intentions. I am prepared for everything, alone and without assistance; but with the assistance I very shortly expect, I can act in a manner that you will find, I fear, very injurious to your interests; and if you will take my advice, you will write to me at once and let me know what I am to think of the reports which have reached me."

Early in the forenoon of the 5th of July arrived Holkar's Prime Minister, Bhao Rao Ramchunder, and his treasurer, Khooman Sing, accompanied by Captain Fenwick, an East Indian in the service of the Maharajah. Holkar wrote—

Holkar's letter.

"No one in the world regrets more than I do the most heartrending catastrophe which befell at Indore and at Mhow. My troops, probably under the influence of the Mhow mutineers, mutinied openly on the morning of the 1st instant; and the very companies and guns that were sent to protect the Residency picked up a general quarrel with some one, and began at once to fire upon the Residency house. The mischief done was great; many lives were lost. No companies of the Contingent, &c., assisted the British officers; but it is cheering to hear that Colonel Durand, Mr Shakespear and family, and others went away quite safe. The rascals then plundered the whole Residency. The next morning the Mhow troops, after committing similar brutalities, arrived here; the whole town was in a panic. A greater part of my troops were in open mutiny, and what remained could not be trusted. The Mahomedans raised a standard of 'Deen,' and the disorder was complete. Under these sad circumstances the mutineers exacted their own terms. They not only demanded the heads of a few Europeans whom I had concealed in my

own palace, but also of a few officers of the court who were supposed to be in the British interest. They prepared to plunder and destroy all if I myself did not come out. I had no alternative left but to offer them my own person, but I would not allow the poor Europeans to be touched before being killed myself. After plundering the British treasury, and the carriage from the town, and taking with them all the guns which had gone over to them in a state of mutiny, all the mutineers of this place and Mhow have marched off last night in a body towards Dewass. The tale is a painful one, and will be described to you in detail by Rao Ramchunder and Bukshee Khooman Sing, who are bearers of this to you. I have not, even in a dream, ever deviated from the path of friendship and allegiance to the British Government. I know their sense of justice and honour will make them pause before they suspect, even for a moment, a friendly chief, who is so sensible of the obligations he owes to them, and is ready to do anything for them; but there are catastrophes in this world which cannot be controlled, and the one that has happened is one of the kind."

The deputation from Indore confirmed the statement in the letter that the Maharajah had been unable to control his mutinous troops, and expressed on his part deep regret at the occurrences which had taken place in his capital. They offered also to send over the remaining treasure from the Residency to Mhow, and were prepared to carry out any measures which Hungerford might advise for opening up communication through, and tranquillising the country. On the evening of the 6th, the treasure, amounting to 4 lacs, besides nearly 23½ lacs in Company's paper, arrived in the fort. The same day news reached Mhow that Lieutenant

Hutchinson, an Assistant to the Resident, had been taken prisoner by the Rajah of Amjheera, a petty Rajput state in Malwa. Mrs Hutchinson was the daughter of Sir Robert Hamilton, and the following shows that Holkar had not forgotten what he owed to his former guardian—

Holkar's gratitude.

"His Highness the Maharajah has learnt with great regret the astounding account of Captain and Mrs Hutchinson and parties' detention at Amjheera. He looks upon Mrs Hutchinson as his sister, and the whole family as his own relations; and though not crediting that the Rajah of Amjheera could be so blind to his own interests, he has, however, lost no time in ordering Bukshee Khooman Sing, with three companies of infantry, two guns, and 200 sowars, towards Amjheera, with orders to blow up the town and bring in the Rajah dead or alive, should he have proceeded to any extremities with the party. Amjheera, it must be recollected, is not a tributary to Holkar, but to Scindia; but in this emergency his Highness thinks hesitation as to its being a foreign state inadmissible." [1]

The Rajah of Amjheera attacks Bhopawar.

The news of the attack on Indore Residency by Holkar's troops spread like wildfire throughout the country around. It was stated that the Maharajah had joined in the revolt, and the petty chiefs were ready to follow the example supposed to have been set by the great Mahratta sovereign. The Rajah of Amjheera immediately sent his troops to attack the small town of Bhopawar, where a detachment of the Bhil Corps was stationed. News of their approach reached Dr Chisholm, who was in medical charge of the cantonment. "I immediately as-

[1] From Captain T. Hungerford to the Secretary to Government, Bengal, Mhow Fort, 17th July 1857.

sembled the men of the Bhil Corps, about 180 in number (the headquarters, as you know, being away), got out two small guns which we had, helped to load them with my own hands, and posted them in a good spot. I then sent to Lieutenant Hutchinson, the Political Officer, who was living three miles away, and told him what I had done, recommending him to join me and make a stand at the lines of the Bhil Corps. He accordingly came down with his family. All this occurred on the evening of the 2nd July." Night fell without any appearance of the enemy. The men lay down at their posts and the two officers slept at the quarter-guard. When dawn broke, they discovered that only twenty Bhils remained in the lines; the others had stolen away from fear: and it was evident from their conduct that these twenty did not mean to fight. Resistance was now hopeless, and the women and children had to be considered. On the morning of the 3rd of July, Lieutenant and Mrs Hutchinson and child, Mrs Stockley and four children, and Dr Chisholm started for Jhabua, a small subsidiary native state between Indore and Amjheera. In the afternoon they arrived within its boundary, and had halted to rest their cattle when they were overtaken by a small body of horse and foot, who had been sent in pursuit of them. "We gave ourselves up for lost; but Lieutenant Hutchinson and myself prepared to sell our lives as dearly as we could. Fortunately, we were well armed, having five guns between us." Though worn out with fatigue, Hutchinson and Chisholm kept watch all

Lieutenant Hutchinson and party start for Jhabua.

night, each awaking his companion (if he slept) at the slightest cause for alarm. "You may imagine how dreadful a night the poor ladies passed; indeed few of our party will be disposed, I fancy, ever to forget it. Nothing but jungle all round; one miserable hut within sight, belonging to some *dâk* runners, deserted again by the few people who accompanied us so far from Bhopawar; and a band of assassins at hand thirsting for our blood." When daylight returned, a small party belonging to the Jhabua state conducted them to an adjacent town. At first they treated them with civility, but towards evening they grew insolent and began to plunder them. "We saw our position had but little improved, and we prepared again to sell our lives as dearly as we could." At this moment an escort sent by the Chief to conduct them to his capital arrived, and the next morning (5th July) they reached their goal and found shelter and safety. The young Chief, a good-looking youth of sixteen, received them with marked kindness. In consequence of his minority, the management of affairs rested in the hands of his grandmother; and she, in the true chivalrous spirit of her race, did all she could for the safety and comfort of her way-worn guests. "To protect us," Dr Chisholm says, "was as much as she could do; for there were a number of Arabs and men of that class in the employ of the Chief, and these fanatics loudly demanded our surrender that they might put us to death. The family themselves are Rajputs, and had fortunately a number of Rajput

The young Chief receives them with kindness.

retainers about them. To these they assigned our protection, and faithfully did they execute their trust. Not a Mussulman sepoy was allowed to approach our quarters in the palace." Five days did they enjoy the hospitality and protection of the young Rajput Chief. Then, escorted by some troopers whom Holkar had sent for their rescue, they returned to Bhopawar, where they remained for a couple of days. "From Bhopawar," Dr Chisholm writes, "we intended to go into Indore, where Holkar had kindly prepared rooms for us in his palace. But, hearing that many of his troops were still in a very agitated state, and that the Mussulmans in the city were ripe for mischief, we turned off and came in here, thinking it more prudent, both on Holkar's account and our own. We arrived on the night of the 16th July, thanking God for His mercy to us during so many days of danger."

Letter from Hungerford to the Bengal Government.

The next day Hungerford wrote to the Bengal Government: "The country is perfectly quiet, the Maharajah of Indore most anxious for opportunities to prove his friendship and fidelity to the Government. This Fort is strengthened and provisioned in such manner as to enable us to hold it for any length of time against any native force; trade and business are carried on as usual in the towns in Holkar's states. The Maharajah's tributaries, having discovered the mistake they first fell into of thinking Holkar inimical to the British, have suppressed all disorders in their own districts, and are willing to assist in maintaining order. Some of the Maha-

rajah's troops alone show a bad spirit, and are still mutinous and disaffected; but they will, I think, be restrained from any further excess, and on the arrival of European troops the Maharajah will at once disarm and punish them."

It was due to the courage with which Hungerford assumed responsibility, and the tact and firmness he displayed, that Mhow was saved from falling into the hands of the mutineers, and tranquillity was preserved throughout Holkar's wide territories.

While at Hoshangabad, news reached Durand which made him very anxious. There had come to the Commissioner of Nagpore false reports that the fort at Mhow had fallen into the hands of the mutineers, and that all the Europeans had been massacred. He thereupon ordered all the officers commanding the military posts on the northern line of his territory to fall back if the Indore mutineers threatened to march towards the south, and he wrote to General Woodburn urging him to march eastward towards Nagpore. Durand felt that the line of the Nerbudda must be held in order to prevent the conflagration in the north spreading to the south. He wrote to the Commissioner of Nagpore and to the Government of India pointing out the grave political and strategic error involved in the proposed change of operations. He also wrote to General Woodburn expressing his strong disapproval of it. He went further. He took upon himself the grave responsibility of authorising the officers commanding the military posts to disregard

the orders they had received. Fearing that written words might not confirm Woodburn's wavering purpose, he again set forth southward to reach him and to exercise his own strong will over him. On the way glad tidings reached Durand that his vigorous requests for the advance of the column had been successful. General Woodburn had been forced by ill-health to resign his command, and Brigadier-General Stuart, who had succeeded him, was ordered to march direct for Mhow by way of Assarghur.

On the morning of the 12th of July, the column, consisting of the 14th Light Dragoons, Woolcomb's Field Battery, the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, and a Pontoon Train, left Aurungabad and made its way over the rough pass of Chowker. Eight days later they were encamped on the south bank of the river Tapti. Cholera now broke out in the camp, and in a few hours many died. "Major Follett, commanding the 25th Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry, died here about 9 P.M. He was a fine man, and much beloved of his regiment." Before the first streak of dawn the column moved slowly down the high banks, covered with trees, to the ford. Once upon the shingle at the water's edge, the infantry, taking off shoes and stockings, waded across and formed up on the opposite bank. "Then down comes the artillery, gun after gun, dashing the stream about in a thousand rainbows as they pass through; there are the dragoons and gaudily dressed irregulars, in groups, quietly watering their horses; there dhooly-bearers carry-

Brigadier-General Stuart's column leaves Aurungabad, 12th July.

ing the sick men across, sprinkling their heads and dhoolies with the precious water as they go; yonder is a long line of camels, jingling with bells, stalking over; there is the great unwieldy elephant sucking up gallons of water for his capacious stomach (with a huge bunch of leaves tucked up between his trunk and tusks), or blowing it over his heated body and limbs: when he has quenched his thirst he takes down his leaves and fans the flies away as he carefully moves off." After crossing, they marched through the town of Borhanpore and encamped on the north side. "Here the body of Major Follett was buried; and as a proof of the love his men bore for him, they carried his body, dug his grave, and heaped up a rude mound of stones over the spot when the ceremony was ended; and these were *high caste* men too![1] But that their regiment should do such an act seems only natural—they are such fine soldiers, and commanded by such superior officers."[2] The touching of a corpse involved the loss of caste. To the Brahmin sepoy the loss of caste meant becoming an outcast, an object of loathing and disgust.

On the morning of the 22nd of July the column encamped to the north of the fort of Assarghur, on a little plateau surrounded by dense jungle. That evening Colonel Durand came into camp from the fort, and from that time he impressed his strong character on the movements of the column.

[1] The 25th Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry.
[2] "Central India," by Thomas Lowe, p. 44.

On the 24th of July the column set forth for the Nerbudda, and on the evening of the fourth day the broad and rapid stream lay before them. The monsoon rain had fallen on the hills, and the stream was running fast. In a few hours it rose several feet. "High and large boulders rapidly disappeared; the current increased in rapidity, while huge trunks of trees, bushes, and logs of wood came floating down." The river must be crossed at once. Large boats of a rude description were ready, and upon them the troops, artillery, and baggage were taken across. The whole of the 3rd Hyderabad Cavalry, under the command of Captain Orr, had now joined them.

On the 1st of August, crags hewn from the solid rock in prismatic pillars, or hills mantled with dense jungle, looked down on the long column as it made its way to Central India through the pass of Simrole. They encamped at night in a town of that name, and in the morning, fine and cold, they began their last march to the relief of Mhow. Rain had fallen all night in torrents, and it was difficult to drag the guns through the black loamy soil. "The elephants sank knee-deep into the mire, but this was nothing to them." Slowly the column made its way along. At length the cantonment and town of Mhow appeared in sight, and as they neared it fresh horses came out to assist the artillery along the still heavy roads. "As we drew nearer there was the sound of a heavy gun, another, and an-

other, until twenty-one were counted. What could this be for? Has Delhi fallen? It must be so! But no! though perhaps it was an equally important thing to the people here; the salute was fired from the fort for the 'relief of Mhow.'" After firing the salute, the small garrison came out to meet the column as they marched into Mhow, "the 25th band playing rejoicingly." Three days later, the force was strengthened by the arrival of 250 bayonets of H.M. 86th.

Stuart's Column enters Mhow, 2nd August.

Insurrection in Malwa.

The timely relief of Mhow saved the line of the Nerbudda, and it gave us an important base for military operations. But every hand was now against the English — from Neemuch to Saugor, from Gwalior to Mhow—and the force at Durand's disposal was altogether inadequate to the restoration of order and the stay of anarchy. The Gwalior Contingent had become our most powerful foe; the Bhopal Contingent was in open mutiny, and no trust could be put in the Malwa Contingent. Holkar's force, which had supplied the troops who had attacked and burnt the Residency, consisted of 30 guns of various calibre, about 1400 horse, and five battalions of disciplined infantry; and Holkar's capital contained a turbulent population ready to burn and slay. Durand's force was sufficient to disarm Holkar's force at Indore and maintain order in the city. But he could not at the same time disarm Holkar's troops stationed in separate cantonments. He was weak in infantry, and the rain had rendered the country impassable. He therefore wisely determined to

leave Indore alone for the present and to prepare for operations against the enemy who were openly defying our power and spreading rebellion over the whole State of Malwa. In July, a number of Scindia's revolted troops had seized Mundesore, an important town near the Rajputana frontier, about a hundred and twenty miles north-west of Indore. All the turbulent Afghans and foreign mercenaries in the surrounding districts joined them. Firoz Shah, of the Delhi royal family, placed himself at their head and raised the Mussulman standard. But Durand had to possess his soul in patience. The heavy rains continued and rendered the black soil impassable. He made the best use of the delay. "The hammer and forge were going night and day in the fort, gear for elephants and siege guns was making, untrained bullocks were being taught the draught of guns, and commissariat stores were being prepared." In September, the rebel force had risen to some seventeen or eighteen thousand. As Easter in Western lands marks the awakening of spring, so in India the Dasahra—like Easter a movable festival, occurring in September or the early days of October — marks the close of the season when the rain waters the parched plains, and the arrival of dry winter when the fields are green with young corn. Some intercepted letters informed Durand that at the close of the great Hindu festival a general rising would take place in Malwa. On the 12th of October, when the rains had barely ceased, news reached Mhow that

a body of Rohillas was about to move on the town of Mandlesar on the Nerbudda. The 3rd and 4th Troops of the 3rd Hyderabad Cavalry Contingent, under Lieutenant Clark, were sent at once to the village of Goojeeree to intercept them on their way. Another detachment of the 3rd Cavalry was sent to the town of Mandlesar, to Captain Keatinge, the political agent there. Two days later, three companies of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, three guns, and fifty sabres of H.M. 14th Light Dragoons were ordered to proceed without delay to the support of Lieutenant Clark. On the 19th, orders were issued for the column to march, and all Europeans left behind to go into the fort. The cantonment was to remain in charge of a detachment of H.M. 86th, a portion of the 25th Native Infantry, and the detachment of the Bombay Sappers, under Lieutenant Dick, Bombay Engineers. On the 20th, the bulk of the column set out for Dhar, and early the next morning the siege train followed.

Stuart's Column leaves Mhow, 19th October.

The State of Dhar.

The small State of Dhar is situated about thirty-two miles west-south-west of Indore. The first Peshwa, Bajee Rao, assigned the principality with some adjoining districts and the tribute of some Rajput chiefs to Assund Rao, a member of the Puar family, one of the most distinguished in the early Mahratta history. Assund Rao died in 1748, and was succeeded by his son, who was one of the great Mahratta leaders that fell on the fatal plain of Panipat (1761). For twenty years before the British conquest of Malwa, the

Dhar State was subjected to a continued series of spoliations, chiefly at the hands of Scindia and Holkar, and was only saved from destruction by Meena Bae, the mother of the reigning chief, who had the talents and courage which distinguish the Mahratta woman. By a treaty concluded on 18th January 1819, the Rajah of Dhar agreed "to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and to have no intercourse or alliance, private or public, with any other State, but secretly and openly to be the friend and ally of the British Government; and at all times when that Government shall require, the Rajah of Dhar shall furnish troops (infantry and horse) in proportion to his ability." In May 1857, Anand Rao Puar, then thirteen years of age, succeeded his half-brother. When news of the attack on the Residency at Indore reached Dhar, some four hundred mercenaries, mainly Arabs and Afghans, who had been enlisted by the Prime Minister, plundered and burned two British stations, and on their return they took possession of the fort of Dhar. On the 15th of October, Captain Hutchinson, the political agent, reported that the mother and uncle of the young chief had instigated the rebellion and outrages of the mercenaries, and that the Durbar had received with marked attention and civility emissaries from Mundesore, where the insurgents, under the Imperial Prince, had become a formidable force. Durand determined to attack at once the fort at Dhar, and, having crushed rebellion

there, to march north against the Shahzada and disperse the Mundesore army.

On the 22nd of October, after a wearisome march over a broken and muddy country, the column sighted the fort of Dhar. The enemy had taken steps to attack them outside the citadel. On a hill south of the fort they had planted three brass guns, and from this battery they extended in force along the east face, "skirmishing in splendid style." The 25th Native Infantry rapidly engaged the skirmishers and compelled them to retire. Then Major Robertson, their commander, gave the word, and the gallant Bombay sepoys hurled themselves on the guns, captured them, and turned them upon the enemy. At this moment the 86th Regiment and the sappers in the centre, with the dragoons under Captain Gall on their right, and the Nizam cavalry under Captain Orr on their left, were advanced against the centre of the enemy's position. "They made a rapid move to turn our right and get round to the baggage. But the dragoons led by Gall, and the Native Cavalry by Orr and Macdonald, Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Forces, charged and drove them back into the fort."[1]

The Fort of Dhar.

On the 24th, the siege train arrived at the camp at Dhar, which was pitched in an enormous ravine

[1] "The 3rd Cavalry charged home with fiery energy, and one of Orr's troopers was found lying dead with five of the enemy slain around him."—"Life of Sir Henry Durand," by H. M. Durand, C.S.I., vol. i. p. 230.

surrounded on all sides by heights broken by gigantic fissures. About a mile and a half to the north, on a mound some thirty feet above the plain, stood the fort, with its massive walls built of fine-grained red granite, some thirty feet high, having at intervals fourteen bastions and two square towers. To capture this citadel by *coup-de-main* was impossible. The walls must be breached, and to establish a breaching battery a position must be taken up as near as practicable. The south-east and north faces were quite unapproachable from the plain, upon which there was little or no cover, and the approaches on all these sides were almost perpendicular, while the walls and bastions were considerably higher on account of the fall of the hills. The west face was defended by thick zig-zag loopholed walls, strengthened by bastions, running up from the lower gate to the curtain. In the centre was an intricate, almost impregnable, eastern gateway, flanked by massive bastions. Opposite the west face, and only three or four hundred yards distant from it, was a long high mound terminating at a large lake. It was determined to take advantage of this natural parallel and to erect a breaching battery on it at a spot opposite the corner curtain. Strong cavalry and infantry pickets were thrown out on the east and on the northern faces, and as the lake was unfordable it was considered that there was no escape for the enemy. On Sunday morning, 25th October, the 86th and Madras Sappers marched through a gorge leading from

Siege of Dhar.

the camp to Dhar. As the troops neared the fort, a very smart fire of musketry, gingalls, and round shot was kept up by the enemy. "The artillery dashed along in splendid style and speedily opened fire upon the bastions, while the 8th with their rifles subdued the heat of the fire from the matchlock men. All this time the mortar battery which had been constructed on a hill some two thousand yards south of the fort kept sending shells into it." About noon the long mound was occupied. During the night the breaching battery was thrown up, and next day the heavy guns opened fire upon the curtain of the fort. "For a long time little or no effect was produced. But by and by the thundering weight of metal continuously battering at one spot had the inevitable result. Little by little the stonework crumbled as the 18-pounders continued to pour their contents on it." On the 27th of October, Major Woolcomb, Lieutenants Strutt and Christie, and some men of the Bombay Artillery, Lieutenant Fenwick and a company of the 25th Regiment Native Infantry, volunteered to enter the town, which lay between the battery and the fort, and to fire it. About 9.30 P.M. they crept down from the front of the battery, crossed over the valley below, skirted the water's edge, and were then lost to sight among the trees and huts. "A blaze soon sprang up from one spot, then another, and another, and we could see the burning portfire flung through the air to other houses. The conflagration spread faster and faster, and the

Major Woolcomb, Lieutenants Strutt, Christie, and Fenwick.

Burning of the town.

whole town was enveloped in flames flickering high and broad; then arose a din of voices, amid volleys of musketry, rattling, and screams, and howling of dogs. Roof after roof tumbled in, and soon the village was one huge pile, overshadowed by curling clouds of smoke dancing high above the flames and darkening the bright starry sky. It was a gorgeous sight, and if beauty could accompany such a picture, it was there, as every flame and cloud and burning timber lay reflected, bright and changing, on the still bosom of the lake below." The party rushing through the scorching, flaming streets returned in safety to the battery. By the morning of the 29th, the 18-pounders and 24-pounder howitzer had made a considerable hole in the curtain. The next day the enemy hoisted a white flag and a messenger was sent to them, but after some conversation they drove him away. It was only a ruse on their part to gain an opportunity of examining the breach. All through the day of the 31st the British batteries kept up an unremitting fire, while that of the enemy slackened. At sunset, a storming party was ordered to be in readiness for the night, and Corporals Hoskins and Clarke volunteered to examine the breach for them. About ten o'clock the two soldiers started, reached the top, made their examination, and returned. The breach was practicable and easily ascended. The skirmishing party was advanced, mounted the breach, and entered the fort unopposed by a soul. The rebels, foreseeing an assault, had left the fort by the main gateway, and taking advantage of the cover afforded

Gallant action of Corporals Hoskins and Clarke.

by plantations of high-grown sugar-cane and gigantic cereals and darkly shaded groves of mango and tamarind trees, they had made their escape, unobserved, by the outlying pickets.[1]

The Governor-General's Political Agent ordered the fort of Dhar to be demolished and the State to be confiscated, pending the final decision of Government.[2] At five o'clock on the morning of the 8th of November the column started from its encamping-ground at Dhar. They left the once stately fort a heap of ruins, the palace and gates burning piles. "The flames shot up from the crackling masses beneath them in wild luridity, and glimmered upon the departing masses in ghastly beams, as they threaded along in silent tramp beneath the shadows of the dismantled bastions and walls." As they continued their march through Western Malwa towards Mundesore, news reached them of the evil deeds done by the enemy who had preceded them. "In several of Scindia's villages and towns they had plundered

[1] "The jemadar commanding the irregular picket was placed in arrest, but it would appear from the evidence adduced on inquiry that he was not much to blame. The trooper sent by him to warn the picket of dragoons, after it was known that the enemy were off, fell with his horse on the way and was at once disabled; at the same time the European picket, which had been there for some days, and knew the whole locality well, happened to have been changed the very day of the escape."—"Central India," by Thomas Lowe, p. 82.

[2] "It was subsequently restored to Rajah Anand Rao Puar, with the exception of the Bairsea Pergunnah, but was retained under British management till the Chief should attain the age of eighteen years, or until he should become competent to manage his own affairs. The management of the State was entrusted to the Chief in October 1864."—"A Collection of Treaties," compiled by C. U. Aitchison, B.C.S., vol. iii. p. 380. "Parliamentary Papers on Dhar," April 8, 1859.

the inhabitants, beaten them, and carried away the women." On the 8th of November a large body of the Afghan mercenaries or Velaities, as they were called, attacked the station of Mehidpore, garrisoned by a portion of the Malwa Contingent, commanded by Major Timmins. The infantry and artillery of the Contingent were drawn up near the artillery lines, and the guns opened on the enemy, who were under cover of the bungalows and their enclosures. The majority of the Contingent infantry, however, refused to attack when led on by their officers. "The Subahdar-Major opened his jacket as the rebels approached, took out a green flag and hoisted it." Only a portion of the artillery stood to their guns, and at noon the rebels attacked and took them. "The Contingent troops then fled, and their officers were forced to escape, escorted by a faithful band of the 2nd Gwalior Cavalry."[1] On the 9th of November they arrived in the British camp. That night Orr with three hundred and thirty-seven sabres drawn from the 1st, 3rd, and 4th Regiments started for Mehidpore.

Mehidpore, 8th November.

On the morning of the 12th, after a march of sixty miles, Orr arrived at Mehidpore and found it had just been evacuated, the enemy having taken with them two 12-pounders, four 9-pounders, and sixty cartloads of ammunition and plunder. "Orr, after watering and feeding his horses, set forth in pursuit. After a ride of twelve miles he came in touch with their rear-guard at the village of Rawal.

[1] Telegram from Captain Mayne to the Governor-General, Camp, Jehampore, November 13, 1857.

They were well posted, having their right resting on the village and their front covered by a nullah or rivulet. Orr immediately crossed the rivulet, and, braving the fire of the guns, Abbot and Johnstone with their troopers charged. As they rode up to them the enemy fired, and the grape passed over their heads with a rushing noise like a covey of birds." In another instant they were right upon the battery sabring the gunners. And then began a mortal tussle. The Afghans standing up manfully, made a desperate resistance. An English officer came up with one of the Rohillas. "He was a fine fellow, and perhaps a leader. He was requested to surrender, this he refused to do; he was then told that unless he did so death would assuredly be his portion. Then ensued the struggle for life in deadly conflict, which he manfully maintained upon foot till the cold sharp spear of his antagonist pierced his breast; he then fell upon the field, cast one agonised withering look of a still unvanquished spirit on his foe, threw his arms across his eyes, and died without a groan." The combat continued until darkness fell, and the enemy vanished in the tall crops of sugar-cane and jowaree. But the guns were retaken, with all their ammunition, and one hundred and fifty of the enemy lay dead on the field. The British loss was one hundred killed and wounded.

On the 14th of November Durand received a despatch from Major Orr informing him of the defeat of the mutineers at Mehidpore. The news was important, not merely on account of the suc-

cess gained, but because it proved the loyalty and gallantry of the Hyderabad Contingent. Durand continued his march through Western Malwa, towards Mundesore, as fast as the roads would permit. On the 19th of November the camp was pitched at Hornia, on the banks of the Chumbul. Spies stated that a large rebel force was now only twenty miles away, and that the rebels had determined to give the British battle in the open field. They had spread in Mundesore the report that they had defeated the English at Dhar, and that they were now going to destroy utterly the few remaining Feringhees who had the temerity to follow them so far. But, with Oriental carelessness they neglected what was most vital to their success—the defence of the great natural barrier. To cross the Chumbul without opposition was a business of no light nature, for the banks were rugged and almost perpendicular, the stream was rapid and deep, and its bed broken by enormous boulders of basalt. The sappers had cut a road down the bank for the artillery, and then the passage began. "It was a beautiful picture," says an eye-witness. "The steep, verdant, shrubby banks covered with our varied forces, elephants, camels, horses, and bullocks; the deep-flowing clear river reaching on and on to the far east to the soft deep-blue tufted horizon; the babble and yelling of men, the lowing of cattle, the grunting screams of the camels, and the trumpeting of the weary heavily-laden elephant; the rattle of our artillery down the bank, through the river, and up the

Durand marches towards Mundesore.

opposite side; the splashing and plunging of our cavalry through the stream—neighing and eager for the green encamping-grounds before them; and everybody so busy and jovial, streaming up from the deep water to their respective grounds; and all this in the face, almost, of an enemy." The crossing of the force, ammunition, and baggage occupied nearly the whole day.

Arrival of the column four miles from Mundesore.

On the morning of the 21st of November, the column encamped four miles south of Mundesore. In the afternoon, the enemy came out from the town and occupied in force a village upon the British left, and formed up into considerable masses upon the extensive plateau in front of their line. The accurate fire of the British guns caused the masses to waver; the order was given for the sappers and Hyderabad infantry to occupy the village—which was speedily done, for as they advanced the enemy evacuated it and fled. "The cavalry pursued and cut up a good number of them; the main body then fled into Mundesore. By five o'clock the field was ours."

Defeat of the rebels from Neemuch.

The spies had informed Durand that the rebel force, some five thousand in number, who had been besieging Neemuch, had raised the siege, and were hastening to join their comrades at Mundesore. He therefore determined to occupy a position which would enable him to prevent their junction. The next morning he crossed the river, and, making a flank movement to the left, he encamped to the west of the town, within two thousand yards of the suburb. He was just in time. A cavalry move-

ment showed that the Neemuch rebels were posted in considerable force five miles away on the high-road to that station. At dawn, Durand struck his camp and went forth to meet them. There was a small branch of the river to be crossed, and before all the baggage could be got over the enemy came out from Mundesore to fall upon the rear. The dragoons and two guns soon drove them back. The march continued, unmolested. When they had gone about five miles, and approached the spot where the enemy was said to be posted, a halt was sounded. A few officers rode ahead, when they saw in front of them what seemed like moving masses and flags, waving above the high crops of grain. "They became more and more distinct, and presently we could see a large body of horsemen and two bodies of infantry." It was the enemy from Neemuch in force. They had selected a very strong position upon the road, their right resting on the village of Goraria, their centre on a long hill, and their left well covered by fields of uncut grain, with broken ground and nullahs in their front full of water and mud.

The village of Goraria.

The troops took up their position for the battle. The artillery rattled to the front, the men cheering and waving their hats as they flew past to open fire. The 86th formed into double line on the right of the guns; the 25th, with the Madras Sappers *en échelon* on their left, moved up under a sharp and heavy fire in double line, "as beautifully as on a parade ground," to the enemy's centre. To the left of these was the Hyderabad

infantry, and on either flanks were the dragoons and irregular cavalry. The Hyderabad Contingent artillery opened fire from the British left centre. During the artillery duel, the enemy's infantry came down from their heights, and with banners and flags of all colours flying, advanced to within a few yards of the infantry. The 25th Bombay Native Infantry, led by Major Robertson, charged and drove them back. Lieutenant Martin of the Bengal Cavalry, with some score of dragoons, flung himself on the enemy's guns and cut down the gunners. But the dashing charge was not supported, and he had to retire, having received a wound in the knee. The horsemen, however, again fell on the guns and captured them. The enemy, contesting every inch of the ground, retired to the village.[1] The 86th and the 25th Bombay Native Infantry now moved on it, and the men fell fast, because they had to pass a good many nullahs filled with sepoys, who from these ambuscades plied their muskets with effect. But keeping well together, they surmounted the difficulty of the ground and attacked the village. The walls of the houses and the enclosures were pierced with loop-holes, through which the rebels commenced a well-sustained fusillade. The British soldier and the Bombay sepoy fought their way into the village, but as the enemy were under shelter and aimed so coolly that every shot told, the assailants were

[1] "Those who had not the chance of doing so fled along the Neemuch road and in other directions through fields. The cavalry cut up great numbers in these fields."—"Central India," by T. Lowe, p. 112.

ordered to withdraw. During this combat the rear-guard was attacked by a strong body from the city of Mundesore. The Hyderabad Cavalry, commanded by Captains Abbott and Murray, with two guns and three companies of infantry, were sent to reinforce it. The two guns opened on the enemy, and when they began to waver the Hyderabad Cavalry and a troop of the 14th Dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant Leith, charged them and drove them back to a point where a small pond of water and some shallow pits, or stone quarries, joined. Lieutenant Redmayne who was leading, wheeled round the pond, being closely followed by Lieutenant Chapman and a few dragoons. A tremendous concentrated fire of musketry from the quarry dashed nearly the whole to the earth. Lieutenant Redmayne, whose horse had carried him far ahead of his men, was, while lying on the ground, hacked to pieces by the rebels. "When his body was brought in no feature could be recognised." At this moment Captain Abbott appeared on the other side of the pits, and the enemy retreated into the Mundesore fort. Sable night fell, and the Rohillas held the village—a flaming fire. The British loss was great — upwards of sixty officers and men killed and wounded.

Capture of Goraria.

About 10 o'clock next morning the 18-pounder and 24-pounder howitzers were brought up to within two hundred and fifty yards of the village and poured forth a storm of shot and shell. The houses were reduced to a mass of ruins, and the fire consumed all that would burn. But the gal-

lant garrison still held out. Towards 4 P.M., the 86th Regiment, the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, and some Madras Sappers stormed the burning village. The heroic Rohillas defended the burning sheds with dogged bravery, and from the tops of the charred ruins sent a deadly fire on their assailants as they rushed through the streets.

Gallantry of the Madras and Bombay sepoys.

"The Madrassees, with their huge blue turbans, behaved gloriously, as they always do. They were rushing about like salamanders in the flames and smoke." The Bombay sepoys, always patient, faithful, and brave, also shone that day. Many of them were wounded as they charged the village, or in the furious hand-to-hand struggles. When they were brought into the field hospital with arms and legs shattered by round shots, limbs and body perforated by musket bullets, and flesh wounds of no slight nature, their observation was, "Ah, well, never mind, we have eaten the Sircar's salt for many years; this has been good work, and the Sircar will be good and take care of us, or our families if we die." "One poor fellow, whose blood was welling away profusely from a wound near the shoulder joint, was offered a little brandy-and-water as a stimulant, when he nobly said 'Give it to my brother first,' who sat next to him groaning in agony; he then drank, and said he did not mind his wound, for he knew Government would not forget him."[1] During that dreadful conflict, the

[1] "Not a man refused to take what was offered to him as drink—even then, all-shunned wine was willingly accepted by them; and when an amputation was performed they bore it with heroic fortitude, for

County Downs had to freely use their bayonets as they drove the Rohillas, contesting every inch of the ground, out of the houses. The Irish lads not only fought manfully, but their conduct increased the lustre of the soldiers' heroism. "Occasionally a son of the sister isle, all covered with sweat and dust, his face blackened by powder and smoke, would be seen leading tenderly outside the walls a woman or a child." When evening came, only a few rebels remained in strongly built houses at the upper end of the village. Cavalry pickets were thrown around them and the troops returned to camp. "The next day not a living soul remained in Goraria."

The capture of Goraria was a mortal blow to rebellion in Western Malwa. During the attack on the village, the Shahzada and his Afghan mercenaries evacuated Mundesore, and as they fled through the country the population attacked them and drove them into the jungles. After a large breach had been made in one of the walls of the Mundesore fort by the Madras Sappers, in order to render it untenable by a foe, the column marched for Indore. Major Orr was left behind with his force of Hyderabad troops, and Captain Keatinge was appointed Political Agent of Western Malwa.[1] No better choice could have been made. He had,

Mundesore evacuated.

although chloroform was not administered scarcely a groan escaped while the dreadful knife was severing the member from its body. In action they were cool, gallant, and intrepid; under the painful ordeal of the surgical operation they displayed patience, cheerfulness, and fortitude." —"Central India," by T. Lowe, p. 121.

[1] Afterwards Colonel Keatinge, V.C., Chief Commissioner of Assam.

before the outbreak at Indore, controlled his own district with courage and energy, and during the operations he had rendered good service by raising and managing some native levies in the small states north of Indore. On the 15th of December, the column marched through the suburbs of Indore and pitched their camp in front of the Residency. The massive walls of the stately home of the Governor-General's Agent at Indore stood, but the inside had been completely gutted. The church, "a pretty little village-like sanctuary," had been rifled and defiled. Of the hospitals and other buildings nothing remained but blackened tumble-down walls. But the British representative, cruelly and treacherously driven away, had returned supported by British bayonets. The court astrologer had said, "Though every European save one were slain, that one would remain to fight and reconquer." On the afternoon of the 15th, Holkar's mutinous troops laid down their arms. At 5 o'clock, all officers of the force attended, at an invitation from the Maharajah, an open durbar. Holkar told the Brigadier "he was very glad to see him and his victorious army." Durand informed the Maharajah that the British Government expected that all who had taken part in the attack on the Residency and on Mehidpore should be punished. Holkar promised that a Commission which he had previously appointed would make full inquiries into the matter. But Durand had grave doubts whether justice would ever be done. He had not much faith in the fidelity of the Indore chief. The precise nature and amount of Holkar's loyalty has been discussed

Return of the column to Indore.

at considerable length and with considerable acrimony. But the facts are few and simple. The British Residency was attacked by Holkar's mutinous troops; Europeans were murdered, and the Resident compelled to evacuate it. Holkar knew what was taking place. Saadat Khan rode up wounded to Holkar's palace and told him that he had wounded a sahib and attacked the Residency. For three days Holkar remained in his palace in constant communication with the mutineers. He then visited the Residency and conversed with Saadat Khan, with the commander of the infantry which had led the attack, and with the Subahdar of the 23rd Native Infantry who was a party to the murder of his commanding officer. On the other hand, it must be remembered that he refused to hand over to the Mhow mutineers the Europeans and other Christians who had taken refuge in his palace, and when he had recovered from the shock of the revolt of his troops, he acted with energy, consideration, and loyalty to the British cause. But the fact remains that at the critical moment when the Residency was attacked, Holkar hesitated and did nothing. If he had appeared at the Residency with such troops as he could depend upon to overawe his mutinous soldiers, the outbreak would at once have been put down. He was careless of the lives of English officers, and in the hour of trial violated his duty to the Government to which he owed allegiance, and which from a cottage had placed him on a throne. If Holkar had been deposed and his State confiscated and divided among our faithful allies, there is not a native chief who

would not have admitted the justice of our decision. But the Government of India, taking into consideration his subsequent conduct, treated him with marked leniency and generosity. Sir Robert Hamilton, who had placed Holkar on the throne hastily and improperly, advocated his claim for territorial reward for mutiny services. But Lord Canning, when he understood the whole question, deliberately recorded that Holkar's services were not such as to entitle him to a reward; and his decision was endorsed by successive Viceroys.

On the 16th, Durand ceased to be Agent to the Governor-General. Sir Robert Hamilton had returned to Indore and he resumed charge of his duties. He was accompanied by Sir Hugh Rose, who took command of the force which then assumed the name of the Central India Field Force. Thus ended the Malwa Campaign, a brilliant episode in the history of the Indian Mutiny. Durand had overcome by patience and courage the varied obstacles which beset his path, and had proved himself a skilful and daring commander. "His conduct," as Lord Canning recorded in a minute, "was marked by great foresight and the soundest judgment as well in military as in civil matters." He had many points to guard, and the trustworthy force at his disposal was almost hopelessly small; but by a judicious use of it, and by the closest personal supervision of its movements, Colonel Durand saved our interests in Central India until support could arrive.

CHAPTER IV.

WHEN Sir Colin Campbell was in Calcutta a general plan of campaign was designed, by which the resources of the three Presidencies, after the arrival of reinforcements from England, should be made available for combined action. A Bombay column, called the Central India Field Force, supported by the Rajputana Field Force on one side, and the Madras force, called the Saugor and Nerbudda Field Force, on the other side, was to march through the heart of Hindustan to restore order, and, by distracting the attention of the insurgents in that quarter, obviate the risk of Sir Colin Campbell being attacked by the formidable Gwalior Contingent and other rebels whilst engaged in the reduction of the Doab, Rohilcund, and Oudh. The Central India Field Force was to make Mhow its base of operations. After capturing Jhansi, the stronghold of the mutineers in Central India, it was to march to Calpee, situated on the Jumna, where Sir Colin hoped to come in touch with it. The Madras column, starting from Jubbulpore and clearing the line of communication with Allahabad and Mirzapore, was to march across Bundelcund to Banda, also situated on the Jumna some ninety-five miles south-west of Allahabad. It was a well-conceived plan and showed a broad grasp of the science of war.

Plan of Campaign.

The officers appointed to carry out the operations, under the instructions of the Commander-in-Chief, were Major-Generals Sir Hugh Rose, to command the Central India Field Force, and Whitlock and Roberts to command the Madras column and Rajputana Field Force respectively.

Hugh Rose.

It would be difficult to imagine two men more different in their characters and their lives than Colin Campbell, the son of a Scotch carpenter, and Hugh Rose, the son of the Minister Plenipotentiary at the Prussian Court. Colin Campbell was a brave soldier, endowed with a vigorous intellect, Scotch homely sense and Scotch caution; Hugh Rose was a clever, impulsive soldier, whose operations were marked by skill, daring, and determination, but a lack of caution which nearly ended in disaster. Genius, however, attached to everything he did; we see it in his despatches, we see it in his conduct of war. To Colin Campbell the mounting of the ladder of success was a long and tedious process; to Hugh Rose promotion came rapidly.

Obtains his first Commission in the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, 1820.

Entering the army in 1820 as an Ensign in the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, he was transferred to the 19th Regiment, and, in recognition of the gallantry he had displayed under critical circumstances in Ireland, he was given, on the special recommendation of his commanding officer, an unattached majority by purchase, after a little more than six years' service. Soon after obtaining his majority, Major Rose was appointed to the 92nd Gordon Highlanders, and served with them eleven years. In the year 1840 he was attached, with the

rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and Deputy Adjutant-General, to Omar Pasha's Brigade in Syria during the operations against Mehemet Ali. Soon after his arrival, and in a brilliant exploit, the fiery courage of the *sabreur* was displayed. As Rose was wandering accidentally in the direction of the Egyptian outposts, he noticed that a large body of their cavalry was about to surprise the camp of Omar Pasha. Putting himself at the head of a regiment of Arab cavalry, he charged down on the Egyptian horse. "In the hand-to-hand encounter that followed Colonel Rose received two or three slight wounds, but he succeeded in completely routing the enemy, killing several of them. He himself, with his own hand, wounded and captured the leader." For this "dashing and gallant conduct," to use the words of his superior officer, "Colonel Rose, besides receiving a sabre of honour from the Sultan and the order of the *Nishan Iftehan* in diamonds, had bestowed upon him by his sovereign the insignia of the Military Companionship of the Bath. Soon after the termination of the war in the Levant, Colonel Rose was appointed Consul-General in Syria. The state of affairs in the country was most critical. The Consul-General had to uphold Turkish and British interests in Syria against the intrigues of rival Powers and to preserve the peace between the Christian Maronites and Muhammadan Druses. In carrying out this policy, Hugh Rose showed rare ability, adroit adaptation of means to ends, and a bold bearing up against powerful antagonists. He also displayed courage of the

Attached to Omar Pasha's Brigade in Syria.

Appointed Consul-General in Syria.

truest temper and a spirit of active and warm benevolence towards his fellow-creatures. When the American missionaries at Abaye on Mount Lebanon sent an urgent appeal to the Consul for assistance, Rose rode there accompanied only by two kavasses. He found the castle in flames and the Druses with drawn swords watching outside to sabre the Christians as they were driven out of the fire. The imperious Consul so exercised his dominion over the Druses that they not only refrained from slaying the Christians but allowed them to go to Beyrout under his charge. The Druses had laid waste the country with fire and sword, and, beset by fanatics thirsting for blood, he conducted in safety seven hundred Christians to Beyrout. During the journey, he and his two kavasses gave up their horses to the women to ride. When cholera raged with great fury in Beyrout, and "the terror-stricken Christian population abandoned their houses and fled to the country," he alone of all the Europeans, with the exception of one medical officer and some sisters of charity, remained behind to visit the huts of those smitten with the mortal disease. "Language faintly conveys," says the address presented to him by grateful eye-witnesses, "the impression created by conduct so generous and humane; but the remembrance of it will never be effaced from the hearts of those who were the objects of such kindness, nor will such devotion easily be forgotten by those who witnessed it."[1]

[1] "Clyde and Strathnairn," by Major-General Sir Owen Tudor Burne, K.C.S.I.

For the good work he did in Syria, Lord Palmerston, in January 1851, appointed Hugh Rose Secretary of the Embassy at Constantinople. The same year he was promoted Brevet Colonel. In June 1852, Sir Stratford Canning went to England and was absent for some eight or nine months, during which time Rose, as *chargé-d'affaires*, showed that a slender authority in the hands of a strong man may be of the greatest service at a grave crisis. One morning the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Grand Vizier informed Rose that Prince Menchekoff, a personal favourite of the Czar and a man of an overbearing demeanour, who had been sent as a special envoy to Constantinople, demanded that the Sultan should sign a Secret Treaty which would virtually give the Czar the protectorate of all the Christian subjects of the Porte. (No sovereign having a proper regard for his own dignity and independence could admit such a proposal.) The Sultan's independence and the integrity of his dominions had been guaranteed by England and the other Powers, and the Grand Vizier asked Hugh Rose what material pledge he could give that England would support them in opposing the Russian demand. It was a difficult and delicate position. Rose was not the appointed representative of England at the Ottoman Porte, and for him to give a material guarantee might well be regarded as acting outside the sphere of his duty. Rose informed the Grand Vizier that it was for the Porte to specify the assistance required, and he would immediately send off an express message

Appointed Secretary of the Embassy at Constantinople.

to Belgrade or Vienna, or a steamer to Malta, with the intelligence to Her Majesty's Government. "Oh," replied the Grand Vizier, "special messengers and steamers are too late. We must sign the Secret Treaty by sunset this evening, or Prince Menchekoff will demand his passports. We wish to see the British fleet in Turkish waters." Rose stated that he had no power to order the British fleet to Constantinople, but he would inform the Admiral at once of the gravity of the situation and the serious responsibility he would incur if he were to refuse to bring the fleet. The Grand Vizier was satisfied. That night the Sultan's Ministers declined to sign the treaty.[1] Admiral Dundas did not feel justified in sending the fleet into Turkish waters without directions from home, and the Ministry approved of his decision. But as the historian of the Crimean War remarks, "although he was disavowed by the Government at home, and although his appeal to the English Admiral was rejected, it is not the less certain that his mere consent to call up the fleet allayed the panic which was endangering at that moment the very life of the Ottoman Empire."[2]

Russia drifted into war with England and France,

[1] Major-General Sir Owen Tudor Burne, who states that he gives "Sir Hugh Rose's own account of the incident," writes—"Not long after sunset, the Porte's Chief Dragoman came to Colonel Rose at Therapia to inform him that Prince Menchekoff had presented his demand for their signature of the treaty, and that they had refused it. The despatch sent to Admiral Dundas, though not acted on, had gained its object."—"Clyde and Strathnairn," by Major-General Sir Owen Tudor Burne, K.C.S.I., p. 95.

[2] "The Invasion of the Crimea," by A. W. Kinglake, vol. i. p. 106.

and Rose was appointed Queen's Commissioner at the Headquarters of the French Army, with the local rank of Brigadier-General. At Alma, when during three sunny hours a French and an English army fought side by side, General Rose was with the 1st Regiment of the Zouaves while they, under a heavy artillery fire, captured the Telegraph Height. The following morning, when he was visiting, with General Canrobert, La Maison Brulée, upon which the Russians had concentrated a heavy artillery fire, Rose was wounded by the splinter of a shell. At the Mount of Inkerman, where England fought the gathered strength of the Czar, he offered a striking instance of coolness and daring. In order to reconnoitre the ground between the left of General Canrobert and the right of General Pennefather, he rode leisurely down the Tchernaya road under the withering fire from the whole line of pickets. "The horseman turned neither to the right nor to the left, nor could the Russians hit him. Suddenly they saw him fall headlong with his horse. After a few minutes, paying no attention to the firing, the mysterious horseman got up, shook himself, patted his horse, and led the animal leisurely back up the road. The Russians were so awe-struck that an order was sent along the line to cease firing on the man, who 'we afterwards learnt,' said the Russian officer, 'was Colonel Rose.'"[1] General Canrobert, who himself was always ready for an act of brave self-devotion, recommended Hugh Rose for the

Battle of the Alma.

The Mount of Inkerman.

[1] "London Gazette," 6th February 1855.

Victoria Cross for gallant conduct on three different occasions, but, having the local rank of Brigadier-General, he was considered not to be eligible, as the regulations expressly excluded General Officers from this decoration. He was, however, on the 12th of December 1854, promoted "for distinguished conduct in the field" to be Major-General, and on the 16th of October 1855 he received the degree of Knight Commander of the Bath.

Promoted to be Major-General for distinguished conduct in the field.

Soon after the tidings of the revolt of the Bengal Army reached England, the Duke of Cambridge, who "personally had an opportunity in the Crimea of seeing what manner of man my gallant friend was, and of what stuff he was made," gave him the important command of the Poona Division of the Bombay Army. It was the command which Charles Napier held before he went to conquer Sind. On the 19th of September 1857, Hugh Rose landed at Bombay. Lord Canning had intended to give the command of the Central India Force to General John Jacob, the daring leader of cavalry who had subdued the proud and warlike mountaineers of the Afghan and Beloochee frontier, but John Jacob, who commanded the cavalry during the Persian Campaign, was detained at the desire of the British Minister in Persia, and the command was given to Sir Hugh Rose.[1]

Appointed to the command of the Poona Division.

Lands at Bombay, 19th September 1857.

Appointed to command the Central India Field Force, 25th November 1857.

[1] Outram wrote to John Jacob from Calcutta on the 6th of August, the day he left for Allahabad: "I have urged the Governor-General to give you command of that army (Central India), and he appears most highly to approve of the idea, satisfied as he is that you of all men are best fitted for the great military and political responsibilities

On the 17th of December he assumed command of the Central India Field Force, which consisted of two brigades. The 1st Brigade, recently the Malwa Field Force, was at Mhow; the 2nd Brigade was at Sehore. The left, or 1st Brigade, at Mhow, under the command of Brigadier C. S. Stuart of the Bombay Army, was composed of— Assumes command of the Force, 17th December 1857.

1 squadron, 14th Light Dragoons.
1 troop, 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry.
2 regiments, Hyderabad Contingent Cavalry.
2 companies, 86th Regiment,[1] 25th Bombay Native Infantry.
1 regiment, Hyderabad Contingent Infantry.
3 light field batteries (one belonging to the Royal Artillery, one to that of Bombay, the third to Hyderabad).
Some Sappers.

The right, or 2nd Brigade, at Sehore, under the command of Brigadier Steuart, 14th Dragoons, was composed of—

Headquarters, 14th Light Dragoons.
3rd Bombay Light Cavalry.
1 regiment, Hyderabad Contingent Cavalry.
3rd Bombay European Fusiliers.[2]
24th Bombay Native Infantry.

which must rest on that commander. As the Commander-in-Chief of all India will, I presume, command the Eastern army, yours will be the highest command in India next to his. My own part in the campaign will be very secondary, merely preserving the country up to Cawnpore, and maintaining the Commander-in-Chief's communications."

[1] The remainder of the companies of this regiment joined before the attack on Chanderi.

[2] Now the 2nd Battalion, Leinster Regiment.

1 regiment, Hyderabad Contingent Infantry.
1 battery, Horse Artillery.
1 light field battery.
1 battery, Bhopal Artillery.
1 company, Madras Sappers.
A detachment of Bombay Sappers and a siege train.

Arrives at Mhow.

On the morning that he assumed command, the Major-General rode from Indore to Mhow, reviewed the 1st Brigade and inspected the hospitals. On visiting the hospital of the Madras Sappers, he told the men how pleased the Government were at their gallant conduct; and on a wounded sapper begging not to be left behind, Sir Hugh said that every attention should be given to him. Sir Hugh possessed great energy, and it was taxed to the utmost in making the necessary numerous arrangements for his force to take the field. He gave himself entirely up to the business, labouring day and night, thinking of nothing else. "He was laughed at and called a griff by a good many, and a good many others asked who he was and what he had done." But the griff swiftly proved that he knew well the business of war, and the London dandy, after the longest march spruce and neat, won the confidence and affection of his men. On Christmas Day the General and his staff dined with the officers at Mhow. The banners captured from the enemy in the Malwa Campaign, and green leaves in the place of holly and mistletoe, decorated the room. "The maids of merry England were not forgotten, nor were

the heroes who had gone gloriously to their graves in the conflicts in Bengal and other parts of India. It was a happy meeting; few, however, who were present then met together to celebrate another Christmas." The new year came, and with it the cheering news of the relief of Outram and Havelock at Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell. But grave tidings from Saugor also reached them. A large force of mutineers were moving towards that cantonment with the view of attacking the fort, whose garrison consisted of one weak company of European artillery and about forty officials. To this small body of men was entrusted the protection of a large and important arsenal and the lives of some one hundred and seventy European women and children. In the cantonments were one thousand Bengal sepoys and about one hundred irregular cavalry. They had behaved well, but would they continue to be loyal when they came in touch with their mutinous brethren? They were now mistrusted, and not allowed to do duty in the fort, and to remain loyal under the circumstances would indeed be a hard and trying exercise of faith. The importunities of their deluded comrades, who were wild with bigotry and flushed with success, the dread of being outcasts if their masters were driven into the sea, were incentives strong enough to draw the most faithful into the vortex of rebellion. No praise is too high for the sepoy who remained true to his colours.

Grave tidings from Saugor.

To Brigadier Whitlock had been assigned the

Relief of Saugor.

task of relieving Saugor, but Sir Hugh Rose knew that the Madras column could not reach Saugor for two months, and, taking upon himself the responsibility of diverging from the plan of campaign, he determined to march rapidly with a portion of his force to its relief. On the 6th of January, accompanied by Sir R. Hamilton, he left Mhow to join the 2nd Brigade at Sehore. On the morning of the 8th of January the siege train commenced its march from Indore,[1] and six days later joined the force at Saugor. On the 10th, the 1st Brigade left Mhow. It was marching in a parallel line to clear the Grand Trunk Road and ultimately join the other brigade in the attack on Jhansi. On the morning of the 16th, Sir Hugh Rose with the 2nd Brigade left Sehore, and after passing over a rich plateau they ascended a range of hills and saw below them the city of Bhopal spreading itself in the form of an amphitheatre on the declivity of a hill,

The 1st Brigade leaves Mhow, 10th January.

Sir Hugh Rose with the 2nd Brigade leaves Sehore, 16th January.

[1] "We had scarcely gone four miles on the road when a violent explosion was heard in our rear. For an instant we imagined ourselves fired on from an ambush, but on turning round we saw a great column of smoke among the artillery of the Hyderabad Contingent and the men rushing wildly about here and there. The halt was sounded and we galloped to the spot, and a most melancholy scene presented itself. A limber of 9-pounder was filled with loaded shells, and these had exploded through some accident in packing. There lay a human foot in one spot, pieces of flesh in another, burning cloth in a third; a wounded man here, another dying there, a third with the hair of his face and head singed off, and jaw broken! Two men were blown to atoms, the head with the right arm attached being all that was found. The limber had disappeared, and the gun, with its trail broken, was driven some yards back covered with blood. The oxen stood still as death, also wounded. The driver who sat upon the box was only blown off, while the second ahead of him was killed."

the foot of which is bathed by a fine lake surrounded by a circle of large trees. The Begum of Bhopal, who had put off the mutinous solicitations of her people from day to day by assuring them that the proper time for the expulsion of the British had not yet arrived, welcomed the British force, furnished it with supplies, and placed at the disposal of Sir Hugh Rose 600 or 700 of her troops. On the morning of the 16th the brigade left Bhopal. The siege train followed the next day. But it was no easy task to transport the heavy guns through jungle and nullahs, over rough ground and hills. On the afternoon of the 24th, the siege train reached a tributary of the river Beena, where hundreds of baggage waggons were found jammed together and unable to gain the opposite bank. "The sappers piled arms and went to work in good earnest, felling trees, cutting the road, and carrying dry sand to cover the slippery path. The carts were got over after immense labour, then came the 18-pounders, and when they arrived at the slippery incline the elephants struck—they would not move an inch farther with their charge, so the heavy guns were pulled up the incline by the Madras Sappers."[1]

The Begum of Bhopal welcomes the British force.

It was 3 o'clock in the morning before the work was done. The sappers bivouacked in the jungle, and after a short rest of three hours they set forth

[1] "I am convinced that no men in the world could have done better (few as well) than did the Madras Sappers in their voluntary labour in this instance. They had it all their own way."—"Central India," by T. Lowe, p. 172.

in advance of the guns to overcome fresh obstacles. About 1 P.M. on the 25th the siege train joined the force at Rathghur. On the previous morning, when Sir Hugh Rose with the advanced guard reached the encamping-ground, he discovered that the leading flankers had, by taking a wrong road, got into a skirmish with the enemy posted in the suburbs of the town. He promptly advanced and covered with the infantry and guns their return from a position so unsuited to cavalry. "In rectifying this mistake, I had gained a good deal of ground to the right front, and a company of the 24th Native Infantry had taken with spirit one or two houses and gardens; on reconnoitring, I found that they were the commencement of the suburbs, and that to keep all this would compromise my right and plan of attacking the fort from the left flank. I therefore ordered the troops back to their camp."[1] The next day Sir Hugh Rose made, with Major Boileau, commanding Engineers, and a small party of the 3rd Europeans and 3rd Light Cavalry, a complete reconnaissance of eighteen miles of the whole country round the fort, which is situated on the spur of a long, high hill. "The east and south faces were almost perpendicular, the rock being scarped and strengthened by a deep, rapid river, the Beena, running close beneath from east to west; the north face looked along the densely jungled hill, and was strengthened by a deep ditch some twenty feet

Siege of Rathghur.

The Fort of Rathghur.

[1] From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Headquarters, Bombay, dated Camp, Saugor, 7th February 1858.

wide; the west face overlooked the town and Saugor road; on this face was the gateway, flanked by several square and round bastions. The wall to the north side was strengthened by an outwork looking like a second wall. Along each face were strong bastions commanding various points, and also in the four angles: approach from the east and south was next to impossible, approach from the west or town side almost as difficult." [1]

The rock of Rathghur invested.

The reconnaissance having confirmed in all essentials the information on which Sir Hugh Rose had formed his plan of attack, he carried it out by investing, the same evening, the rock of Rathghur as closely as the great extent, hills, thick jungle, and a difficult river would allow. He requested the commander of the Bhopal force to invest the south-west of the fort, as it was the one which faced the Bhopal territory.[2] On the north and north-east were the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry and the cavalry of the Hyderabad Contingent. The remainder of the force occupied the plain across which runs the Saugor road.

Early on the morning of the 26th, Sir Hugh Rose, with the 3rd European Regiment, followed by the 18-pounder howitzers and mortars and the guns of the Hyderabad Contingent, arrived at the jungle at the foot of an open plateau which Major

[1] "Central India," by Thomas Lowe, pp. 173, 174.

[2] From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Headquarters, Bombay, dated Camp, Saugor, 7th February 1858.

Dr Lowe writes: "On the east were about a thousand of the Bhopal troops."

Boileau had selected for the breaching batteries. The sappers who had been sent forward to prepare fascines fell in, and the troops entered the jungle towards the footpath that led to the summit. When they had made their way well into the wild growth, they suddenly found themselves in the midst of fire. "The jungle grass before, behind, and on both sides of us was in a blaze! What with the heat of the sun and the fire we were pretty nearly roasted. The guide had lost the path, so we halted; the order to 'right about face' was given, and by-and-by we came upon the track. We had not gone far when we found ourselves jammed—progress, save by single file, was impossible. The order 'Sappers to the front' was given, and away they went to cut a road up this hill for the guns. The ascent, however, was so rugged and steep that much labour was required ere they could be dragged up the summit." The enemy, on seeing the position the English had occupied, opened fire on it from their gingalls and small guns. It was, however, kept down with the fire of the 6-pounder of the Hyderabad Contingent and the 5½ mortars. Sir Hugh Rose writes: "I beg to mention, for his devotion on this occasion, Quartermaster Thompson, commanding a half-battery of the artillery of the Hyderabad Contingent, who has completed thirty-two years of meritorious service. Twice hit, he continued to fight his guns successfully to the close of the day. I thanked his battery on the ground."[1]

Gallant action of Quartermaster Thompson.

[1] "The Quartermaster of the Hyderabad Contingent, Mr Thompson, had two narrow escapes. One musket-ball struck his leathern helmet,

At 4 P.M. the two 18-pounders with elephant draught were brought up the hill, "the 3rd Europeans dragging them up the steep where the elephants could not go."

Meanwhile the firing against the town had driven the enemy into the fort and enabled Brigadier Steuart to take possession of a mosque opposite the north face, commanding the town, and within range of the main gate of the fort. On this height and another to the left he placed Captain Lightfoot's 9-pounder battery, one 8-inch howitzer, and two 8-inch mortars. These batteries forming the right, or town attack, kept up, night and day, an effective fire on the line of defences and buildings of the fort.[1] "During the day the General was in front the whole time choosing sites for the breaching and mortar batteries, and had numerous escapes from being killed." The next day, the 28th, the General, who was constantly between the two attacks, which were two and a half miles apart, changed the 8-inch howitzer from the right to the left attack, in order to enfilade with its fire the palaces and defences of the north face. He also directed that from the right an attack should be made on a low, massive tower close to the main gateway. The storming party, led by Captain Lightfoot, who volunteered

and a second struck him in the chest, upon a pocket-book. Several others were wounded by musket-balls."—"Central India," by Thomas Lowe, p. 177.

[1] "Captain Lightfoot recommends Private Davies of the 3rd Europeans for his gallantry and intelligence on this occasion." — From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, Camp, Saugor, 7th February 1858.

to accompany it, entered the tower under a heavy fire from the walls of the postern, which were only fifty yards distant. It was found on a thorough examination to be of no value as an offensive, and the troops were withdrawn from it before daylight.

The breaching batteries commence their fire.

At 8 A.M. on the 28th, the sand-bag batteries of the left attack having been completed, the two 18-pounders and the 8-inch howitzer were brought up to them and commenced their fire against the outer wall of the east curtain of the fort. It soon began to crumble into the ditch. Sir Hugh Rose had just returned to the camp from the battery, when the rebels were seen coming in force out of the thick jungle in the British rear with standards flying. They crossed the river and attacked the vedettes on the right rear of the camp. At this moment another large body appeared on the opposite bank. These two forces, amounting to 1500 or 2000 men, consisted mainly of sepoys and Afghan mercenaries. They were led by the Rajah of Banpore, who hoped, by acting in concert with the garrison, to raise the siege, by making a strenuous attack upon the British rear. Hugh Rose, however, as soon as he heard the news of their approach, moved rapidly with an outlying picket of Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, "who in less than a minute were in their saddles," to meet them, ordering two guns and the rest of the picket to follow in support. The enemy, who were skirmishing with a picket of the 3rd Light Cavalry, on seeing their approach, fired a discharge of muskets

The rebels attack the British rear.

and rockets at them and ran into a gorge of the Beena and up its rocky bank. Brigadier Steuart, who had been called up, advancing from the mosque, unlimbered, and, with a few rounds of artillery, sent the rebels on the other side of the river into the jungle. Then the whole rebel force retreated rapidly to a precipitous ridge four miles to the north-west of Rathghur, from whence they had started in the morning. However, Captain Hare of the Hyderabad Contingent with some of his troopers came up with their rear before they reached their coign of vantage and sabred several of them.[1]

While the fray was going on in the plain the garrison redoubled their fire from the fort. But the two batteries continued to pound away at the wall. Then the rebels saw their friends retreat into the jungle and their fire became far less effectual. The English batteries continued to pour forth their shot and shell every quarter of an hour. At 10 P.M. a breach appeared which seemed practicable. It was decided to examine it. "Corporal Linahan, Subadar Seelway, and two privates of the Madras Sappers examined the breach under a very heavy fire from the enemy, who were evidently on the *qui vive*. All night the cannonade continued. At daylight the guns in the fort were silent.

Gallant action of Corporal Linahan, Subadar Seelway, and two privates of the Madras Sappers.

[1] "Captain Hare and Lieutenant Westmacott, attached to the Hyderabad Cavalry, did good service on this occasion, and Lieutenant Moore of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, who, on account of the few artillerymen, served a gun with effect, deserves also to be mentioned."—From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, Camp, Saugor, 7th February 1858.

Lieutenant Strutt of the Bombay Artillery and Dr Lowe of the Madras Sappers, noticing how quiet all was, thought they would go to the breach. "We went, not a shot was fired. Lieutenant Strutt jumped down into the ditch, scrambled over the rubble and up the breach. I followed. On looking into the fort not a soul was to be seen. The birds had flown; how, was a mystery." They had fled in the dead of night by a precipitous path wh... no footing could be seen. "One or two m... ome ot...ies lay at the bottom, attesting the d... before t...e ascent." Crossing a ford over the B... the Bhopal camp they passed through the pl... into the jungle."[1] The 3rd Europeans, ...hen th... entered the fort, "treated the wom... and num...us children of the rebels who were left there, w... the humanity which was to be expected from ...ir discipline and their faith. ... enjoined the troo... for the honour of their country and the army, ...ot to harm a woman or a child." sabred seve...

The rebels abandon the fort at night.

Barodia.

On the 30th the sappers ...d miners occupied the fort and commenced mining ...nd demolishing the buildings. News now reache... Sir Hugh Rose that

[1] "The reports of all the officers on duty st... that these rebels, crossing a ford over the Beena to the south-west un... the Bhopal camp, passed through the Bhopal lines into the jungle; ...e Bhopal troops fired a few shots at the fugitives, two or three of th... dead baggage-animals in this ford showed the track they had tak.... The Bhopal troops have been, and are still, so useful to me that I ...erely mention this circumstance, which is nothing out of the way a...ngst Oriental troops, out of justice to my own force."—From Major-Ge...ral Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, ...mp, Saugor, 7th February 1858.

the garrison of Rathghur, strengthened by rebels from Bundelcund, had concentrated at Barodia on the left bank of the Beena—a strong village with a "gurrie," or small fort, with dense jungle on each side, about 12 miles from Rathghur. At mid-day on the 31st, the General, with five guns Horse Artillery, four guns Captain Lightfoot's battery, two 5½-inch mortars with fifteen men of Captain Woolcomb's battery under the command of Lieutenant Strutt, three troops 14th Light Dragoons, two troops 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, twenty-five men Madras Sappers, 3rd European Regiment, and a detachment Hyderabad Contingent Field Force, marched for Barodia. As they approached the river Beena the enemy were observed on the left, well concealed by long grass and nullahs. Hugh Rose immediately ordered Turnbull's two guns to come into action, but before they could open fire there came a crash of musketry. Lightfoot's four 9-pounders were called up and opened with grape and round shot. It was too close for shrapnel. The 3rd Europeans were in skirmishing order in front of the flanks of the guns, and musketry replied to musketry. The fire of the rebels diminished, but it could not be silenced. Then the order to attack was given. The 3rd Europeans charged, drove the enemy out of the thick jungle and twisting nullahs, and took possession of the bank of the river commanding the ford to Barodia. The Afghans and Pathans fought with their accustomed courage, several of them, even when dying, springing from

the ground and inflicting mortal wounds with their broadswords.[1]

Hugh Rose turned the advantage gained by the 3rd Europeans immediately to account. He sent the Hyderabad Irregular Cavalry, supported by the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry under Captain Forbes, to cross the ford covered by the skirmishers. He himself followed with four guns of the Horse Artillery and a troop of Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons in support under Lieutenant-Colonel Turnbull. The rest of the force was ordered to march as swiftly as possible after them, with the exception of a detachment of the Hyderabad Contingent Field Force (infantry and guns) under Captain Hare, which remained at the ford to protect the rear.

Captain Forbes, 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry.

Forbes, a fine soldier, as daring as he was skilful, found the enemy's flanks posted in thick jungle, their centre in comparatively open ground. Without a moment's hesitation he charged and broke their centre. The enemy found safety behind their guns, well placed in front of the village. It was a strong position. On three sides it was surrounded by thick jungle in which matchlock-men were posted, and before them ran a wet nullah whose banks were lined with infantry. Turnbull, who had rapidly taken his guns across

[1] "Lieutenant-Colonel Liddell, Captain Neville, Royal Engineers, Captain Campbell, 3rd Europeans, Captain Rose, my aide-de-camp, and Lieutenant Macdonald, Assistant Quartermaster-General, were conspicuous in this advance." [Lieutenant Macdonald was slightly wounded, and his horse twice wounded.]—From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Force, to Colonel Green, C.B., Adjutant-General of the Army.

the ford, unlimbered in front of the village and opened fire on the enemy's position. They answered with guns and rockets. Captain Neville of the Royal Engineers, who had joined the force the day before and was acting as the General's aide-de-camp, was struck by a round shot in the head. He fell dead from his horse.[1] He had passed days and nights in the trenches before Sebastopol without being touched. The night before, he had written a letter to his mother expressing the certainty he felt of death in the coming action, yet he pressed Sir Hugh Rose with much earnestness to let him act as his aide-de-camp at Barodia.

Captain Neville.

Driven from their position by the fire of the British guns, the enemy retreated into the village and jungle. Sir Hugh Rose, crossing the nullah, seized the wall round the hamlet and surrounded it with the skirmishers and a troop of the 3rd Light Cavalry. Soon after the village itself and

[1] "Knowing what excellent service he had done as an Engineer officer before Sebastopol, I had brought him up by forced marches to assist in the reduction of the forts in this country; during the action he was most useful to me, exhibiting to the last the courage and intelligence which had obtained for him so honourable a reputation."—From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, to Colonel Green, Adjutant-General of the Army.

"The loss of this officer was much lamented by the General. He had been all through the Crimean War—had passed days and nights in the trenches before Sebastopol, and had escaped with much honour, and in so short a time to have met death in such a manner after such a career was indeed lamentable. He was buried the day after in a little mound near the camp, all the officers of the force having followed him to his grave."—"Central India," by T. Lowe, p. 184.

the little fort was occupied, but the enemy, except a few Afghan skirmishers who were killed, had fled into the jungle. Their losses, according to their own statement, were four or five hundred. Their ablest military leader was killed and the Rajah of Banpore was wounded. Two British officers were killed and six wounded, and the casualties among the men were seven.

About 2 A.M. the force returned to camp. The capture of the fort of Rathghur and the defeat of the rebels at Barodia had completely opened Hugh Rose's communications with the west and Saugor. He now issued his orders for the last march on the city, which for eight months had been surrounded by thousands of insurgents. As the British troops passed by the villages, peasants, who had been robbed and maltreated by the insurgents, ran to the wayside to greet them.[1] At daylight on the 3rd February the fort of Saugor, which is situated on a hill in the heart of the town, was seen. When they drew near the city, some of the Europeans came out to meet them, and on each side of the road there were swarms of natives in their bright and many-coloured dresses, who gazed with wonder at the unexpected apparition of a British regiment.[2] The

Saugor relieved, 3rd February.

[1] "The villagers about Sanoda appeared to be in the deepest distress. They had been plundered of everything by mutinous sepoys and Bundeelahs for months past, and were reduced to such an extreme condition of poverty as to wander through our camp seeking the undigested grains from among the dung of our cattle, and then and there to eat them!"—"Central India," by T. Lowe, p. 189.

[2] "A British regiment had never been seen at Saugor."—Ibid.

14th Dragoons and the large siege guns dragged by elephants were a source of much curiosity and awe to them. As the troops marched beneath the walls of the fort, they saw the ramparts crowded with men, women, and children. For many a week, during eight weary and anxious months, they had heard of relief being near, till "we grew sick with expecting and watching for its realisation." Then there came the faint sound of distant guns. After three days it grew more sharp and quick, and they knew that Rathghur was being bombarded. "The rebels inside the fort, among whom were some of the most daring and troublesome leaders, could not have had a wink of sleep from this constant booming which was distinctly heard at Saugor. But to us it brought sweet slumbers and a happy sense of approaching security. At last, to our joy, it was reported that the fort had been taken and that Sir Hugh Rose was close at hand." The troops, after marching through the city in a long line and skirting its beautiful lake, encamped on the right of the road beneath a barren belt of hills.

Siege and capture of Garrakota.

Sir Hugh Rose had opened communications with the west and north, and the time had now come for him to clear the way towards the east. On the eastern flank, about twenty miles from Saugor, was the strong fortress of Garrakota, standing on an elevated angle of ground. The wide, deep river Sonar washes the east face. A tributary stream, with precipitous banks, flows around the west and northern faces; to the south

is the strong eastern gateway flanked by bastions, and a ditch about twenty feet deep and thirty wide.[1] It was so well built by French engineers that when it was besieged by Brigadier Watson in the Pindari War (1818) with a force of 11,000 men and twenty-eight siege guns, he was unable to make a breach in the massive walls, and the garrison were allowed to evacuate the fort with all the honours of war. The fort was now held by the mutineers of the 50th and 52nd and by a large body of insurgents, and it had to be taken before Hugh Rose could advance on Jhansi.

On the 9th a small force went out to destroy the fort at Sanoda, about ten miles from Saugor, and to cut a road for the siege train to cross the river Beas. The Madras Sappers having done this work of destruction, the force set forth for Garrakota. After a trying march over hills and through a dense jungle, skirmishing and halting and stealing upon the enemy, they sighted the fort, and late in the afternoon they reached the encamping-ground. When the shadows grew longer, they got their tents pitched and "made the very best of a very rough dinner." It was somewhat interrupted by the enemy sending round-shots and rockets into the camp. Meanwhile the General had been making, what he always did make, a thorough reconnaissance, and he did not return to camp till nearly eight o'clock. "How he en-

[1] "This ditch ran round the west face also. On the opposite side of the river is the well-built town of Gurrakotta, about one mile from the fort."—"Central India," by T. Lowe, p. 194.

dured so much was surprising to every one, nor was it the most agreeable thing for his staff." The General had found that the enemy had erected some earth-works on the road to the south, by which they expected the British force to arrive, and that they were occupying in some force the village of Baseri near the fort. Despite the darkness, Hugh Rose determined to drive them at once from their position. The horse artillery, taking up position on an elevated spot in front of the British camp, poured upon them a destructive fire. The enemy sounded their bugles and advanced in force at a double upon the guns, but were driven back in disorder by the 3rd Europeans. They again formed up and advanced with unabated vigour; but as they got near the guns they were again beaten back, and they retreated in disorder into the fort. During the night a breaching battery was erected opposite the west face. The next morning the 24-pdr. howitzer opened fire and, working all day, silenced the enemy's guns. "One large gun annoyed us a good deal. It was worked well, and we could see the enemy in their red coats loading and firing it. Lieutenant Strutt of the Bombay Artillery fought this gun admirably, and at length knocked it from the embrasure.[1] After this no further annoyance from them was experienced." The 18-pdrs.

[1] "Near the gun from which we had been so annoyed, and which was silenced by Lieutenant Strutt, were three bodies; one of them was the body of a havildar, the other two were privates. The last shot from the howitzer had killed these men."—"Central India," by T. Lowe, p. 193.

played upon the fort all the evening and through the night. At dawn, the enemy could be seen escaping from it in great numbers. The order was given to cease fire, and the 3rd Europeans on entering the citadel found it deserted. Captain Hare with the Hyderabad Cavalry, two troops of the 14th Light Dragoons under Captains Need and Brown, and two guns of Horse Artillery under Lieutenant Crowe, set forth in pursuit. After a rapid ride of twenty-five miles Hare found them the other side of the river Beas. Leading his guns and cavalry across the stream, he opened fire and swiftly charged them. "A great number were slain and made prisoners, as was also a good deal of their plunder captured. Thus the 51st and 52nd mutinous sepoys were punished, and the beautiful little fort of Garrakota fell into our hands."

After a short front had been destroyed by mines so as to leave a practicable breach in the *enceinte* of Garrakota and a company of the loyal and gallant 31st Bengal Native Infantry[1] under Lieutenant Dickens placed in charge of it, the column rejoined the force in Saugor on the 17th February. The General was anxious to move on Jhansi without delay. It was clearly his interest to strike another blow at the rebels before they recovered their *morale* and placed themselves in a strong position easy to defend. To his bold and aggressive spirit a period of enforced inaction was the sorest of trials. But, owing to the want of

The column rejoins the force in Saugor, 17th February.

[1] "Military History of the Madras Engineers," by Major H. M. Vibart, Royal (late Madras) Engineers, vol. ii. p. 331.

supply and transport, it was impossible to make at once a further advance. On the 29th of February he wrote to the Governor of Bombay: "I am unfortunately detained by want of supplies and carriage, to the great disadvantage of the public service: I have lost nine precious days, doubly precious not only on account of the time at a season when every hot day endangers the health and lives of the European soldiers, but because every day has allowed the rebels to recover the *morale* they had lost by my operations, which I had made as rapidly and efficiently as possible, knowing that any success with Orientals produces twice as good a result if one acts promptly and follows up one success with another. Nothing requires system so much as transport. Laying in supplies, as it is called, is perfectly easy in a fertile and peaceful country, but this will not do in my case, where a country has been devastated or is in the hands of the enemy. Then appears all the risk of a civil, or occasional, system of supply."

Letter from Sir Hugh Rose to the Governor of Bombay.

During this period of repose Sir Hugh bestirred himself with his usual vigour to collect provisions and transport and to increase the efficiency of his force in every branch. He had the siege train re-supplied from the arsenal with a large amount of ammunition, and strengthened with other heavy guns and howitzers and large mortars. "Many more elephants were obtained, and the Ordnance and Engineering Parks were specially strengthened." The 3rd European Regiment changed their uniform for a dress more suited to a tropical climate, a loose

stone-coloured cotton blouse and trousers and a puggree of the same colour. The officers and men enjoyed their brief rest, and there was great and constant conviviality in the various messes and camps. "We were on the eve of a long and trying march north—months would pass away ere another such respite could be dreamed of, and if we could place any reliance on the reports in camp of the work in store for us, we certainly had every reason to take pleasure by the hand and 'be merry while we may,' so there was music and feasting in all due order; and days of promotion and days of receipt of gratuity for service wounds, and birthdays, and other memorable occasions were celebrated with rejoicings." A few days after came the long march in a scorching season and wasted country and night bivouac in the jungle.

CHAPTER V.

Sir Hugh Rose's Force leaves Saugor for Jhansi, 27th January.

On the evening of the 26th of February, Sir Hugh Rose despatched Major Orr's column of the Hyderabad Contingent to march on a route parallel to his own and to reconnoitre the passes through the range of hills, which were serious obstacles to the forward movement of his force and to the union of the 1st and 2nd Brigade, without which the attack could not be made on Jhansi. At 2 A.M. on the morning of the 27th, Sir Hugh Rose's force was again put in motion. As the troops marched away from Saugor, rockets were seen to shoot up into the dark sky from the centre of the city. "The enemy had evidently had their spies in our camp who were now telegraphing the departure of our troops to their friends north of us. After moving over a belt of hills through a narrow pass, the force halted. The next morning, while the stars were still out, the column was again in motion, and it had not gone a mile when rockets again were seen shooting up into the sky at regular intervals in front of them. As they moved on and on, beacon fires warning the enemy of their approach shone out of the dark masses of jungle on the different hills. But when

the dawn had at last brought the full light of the day the fires were no longer seen. Then, when the sun's rays began to be felt, they halted near the village of Rijwas and pitched camp on a flat surrounded on three sides by high hills. Here Sir Hugh Rose was joined by Major Orr, who had reconnoitred the passes and gathered important information regarding them. The pass of Narut was the most difficult, and the enemy, thinking that the British force must pass through it, had increased its natural difficulties by barricading the road with abatis and parapets made of large boulders of rock 15 feet thick; all passages by the sides of the road being made impracticable by the almost precipitous hills covered with jungle which came down to the edge of the road. The Rajah of Banpore, "who is both enterprising and courageous," defended this pass with 8000 or 10,000 men. The next most difficult pass was Dhamooney, which lay on Sir Hugh Rose's right. About the third pass, Mudinpore, twenty miles from the Narut, very little was known except that in the ordnance map it was described "as good for guns." Acting on the information gathered by Major Orr, the General determined to force his way through the pass of Mudinpore, and so gain the tableland above the hills. But before he could advance it was necessary to capture, in order to preserve his communication with Saugor, the fort of Barodia, which lay about two miles north of the camp and immediately commanded the road to the pass. On the after-

Capture of the Fort of Barodia.

noon of the 2nd of March a few guns, a couple of mortars, infantry and cavalry, were sent out to drive the enemy out of the little citadel. "After some shelling and knocking open the gate, the enemy were seen escaping over the fort wall into a jungle hill." Lieutenant Prendergast, Madras Engineers, with a section of the Madras Sappers and a company of the Khoonds, a semi-barbarous, undisciplined body of levies recently raised from the hill districts, took possession.[1]

In order to deceive the enemy as to his intention, and prevent the Rajah of Banpore from coming from the pass of Narut to the assistance of the Rajah of Shaghur who defended Mudinpore, the General determined to make a serious feint against Narut. About two o'clock on the morning of the 3rd of March he sent Major Scudamore, commanding Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, with two troops of that regiment, one troop 3rd Light Cavalry, 100 Irregular Cavalry, one 24-pdr. howitzer, three Bhopal 9-pdrs., and the 24th Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry, to the fort and town of Malthon just above the pass of Narut. Three hours later, Sir Hugh Rose marched with the

[1] "These Khoonds were most extraordinary fellows. When they marched they seemed to keep on the jog-trot, laughing and joking and carrying their arms as one would imagine of a wild Irish mob; they seemed possessed of no scruples of caste, and were always willing to go anywhere and do anything where there was a chance of looting a rag or a lota [brass drinking-vessel]. They appeared to be the very best of material from which to mould a useful corps, but at present, as might be expected, were in the roughest possible form."—"Central India," by Thomas Lowe, pp. 210, 211.

Forcing the pass of Mudinpore.

main body[1] against the pass of Mudinpore. For five or six miles the column moved along the foot of a long range of hills, and then it entered the almost pathless route which led to that pass. As it approached the gorge, the enemy's skirmishers fired on the advanced guard from the hills on the right, but they were soon driven back. The column moved steadily forward with the batteries, and at about eight hundred yards from the edge of the plateau, where the road suddenly descends into a glen, thickly wooded, they found the enemy posted on the rocky and precipitous hills which lined the left of the defile. Major Orr opened fire on them with round shot and spherical case. At this moment an officer, filled with the zeal of battle,

[1] It consisted of—

Advance-Guard.

500 Hyderabad Cavalry.
200 Hyderabad Infantry.
4 guns, Artillery.
1 company, 3rd Bombay Europeans.

Centre.

1 troop, Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons.
Sappers and Miners.
4 guns, Horse Artillery.
Right Wing, 3rd Bombay Europeans.
3 9-pdr. guns, Captain Lightfoot's Battery.
2 5½-inch mortars.
1 8-inch mortar.
1 8-inch howitzer.
Left Wing, 3rd Bombay Europeans.
Siege train.
3rd Bombay Light Cavalry.
Baggage and convoy.

Rear-Guard.

125 Hyderabad Infantry.
1 howitzer and 1 gun, Horse Artillery.

galloped his guns to the right front with the view of pouring an enfilading fire into the enemy. "But he had not taken into consideration that this movement brought him to within fifty or sixty yards of the edge of the glen in which lay concealed some hundred sepoys, who, before he could unlimber, opened a very heavy fire on his guns, which he was unable to depress on them." So unexpected was the attack, so rapid and hot the fire,[1] that the artillerymen had to take shelter behind their guns. Several were wounded. The General had his spur shot off and his favourite charger struck. He ordered the guns to be retired out of the range of the enemy's musketry. The sepoys hailed this little reverse with shouts. But their success only brought on their more rapid defeat. Sir Hugh Rose, now knowing their exact position, ordered a hundred of the Hyderabad Contingent Infantry to charge into the glen and swoop the rebels down into the road. At the same time he sent a company of the 3d Europeans against their front. The rebels, driven with loss from the glen, crossed the road and ascended a hill on its left. Not giving them time to breathe, the General directed Captain Macdonald, Assistant Quartermaster-General, to storm the heights with two companies of the 3rd Europeans. "Captain Macdonald conducted them ably and gallantly up the almost precipitous height, and extending the Grenadier company from the right, and supporting them with the other

[1] "As rapid and hot a fire as ever I saw," wrote Sir Hugh Rose to Sir Colin Campbell.

company, drove them from the first to the second line of hills. As soon as Lieutenant-Colonel Liddell had come up with the rest of the 3rd Europeans, I moved him up the hill, in support of his two companies, directing him to advance and drive the enemy successively from all the hills commanding the pass. He performed this movement entirely to my satisfaction."[1] The glens and hills which protected the pass having been taken, the 4th Hyderabad Cavalry drove in the enemy's front and cleared the pass. Their main body, repulsed in flank and front, retired to the village of Mudinpore, situated at the end of a long lake, along which the road through the pass ran. Behind the strong masonry dam they had planted their few guns, which had played on the 3rd Europeans as they advanced up the hill. The 8-inch howitzer and the 9-pounders were brought to the head of the lake, and a few rounds drove the enemy from their strong position behind the dam. The troops advanced through the village and then stayed their march to breathe awhile and quench their thirst. After a short halt the Hyderabad Cavalry were sent in pursuit, and coming up with the tail of the enemy cut up a great number and captured many, among others the Astrologer of the Rajah of Shaghur. He confessed that he had been mistaken in his prediction of the fitting day for the destruction of the Feringhees. When the sun was wend-

[1] From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, to Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, Cawnpore, dated Camp before Jhansi, 26th March 1858.

ing to the time of bringing home the cattle, the troops, after a long march, weary and footsore, parched and exhausted, halted near the deserted village of Pepeeria, and encamped within sight of the fort of Sorai, a little well-built keep on a hill commanding an extensive view of the surrounding plains. The lines of the sappers were pitched in the beautiful garden of the Shaghur Rajah. "In the centre of this extensive enclosure was the seraglio of the Rajah, overshadowed by mango and guava trees and embowered by groves of orange and citron trees, laden with golden fruit and sweet-smelling blossoms."

The results of the successes at Mudinpore were as numerous as they were favourable. Sir Hugh Rose's force had got into the rear of the passes and the enemy's line of defences of which they thought so much. The pass of Narut, considered by them as impregnable, was turned. Sir Hugh Rose wrote to Sir Colin Campbell, "The great thing with these Indians is not to stay at long distances firing; but after they have been cannonaded, to close with them. They cannot stand. By forcing the pass of Mudinpore I have taken the whole line of the enemy's defences in rear, and an extraordinary panic has seized them. I hope I am not over-sanguine, but I think that matters as far as we have gone look well. All in our rear is really police work, and all I want is a reserve to occupy the country I take and prevent my flanks and rear being turned as I advance. A military police, organised on the Irish Constabulary system,

Letter from Sir Hugh Rose to Sir Colin Campbell.

is what is needed here and in India generally." After rendering the fort of Sorai useless, the force marched upon Murrowra, about twelve miles north, where there was a large and important fort. On reaching the town they found it deserted. On the 7th, the British flag was hoisted upon a bastion of the fort; a proclamation of annexation of the territory was read; the artillery fired a royal salute; the bands played "God save the Queen," and the Rajah of Shaghur was disinherited. Two days later the force started for Banpore, and as they neared the encamping ground opposite the town they heard the sounds of very heavy firing at regular intervals from the west. It was the siege guns of the 1st brigade breaching the fort of Chanderi. The palace of the Rajah of Banpore, a vast pile, was found to contain great quantities of property belonging to English officers, and orders were given to destroy it. On the evening of the 11th, part of it was blown down and huge fires lighted in other apartments; by nightfall it was burning brilliantly, "like a great bonfire."

The start on the 14th was long before daylight, and, as the sun began to flood the heavens with crimson and gold, the troops marched along the border of the lake of Talbehat, "and the wild-fowl flew in hundreds above it, screaming and darting into the quiet weedy waters." Above the lake, on the western side, rises boldly from the plain an extensive hill glorified with bastions, temples and towers, and crowned with a feudal castle. During the halt of two days a breach was made in its old

stout walls so as to render it incapable of defence. On the 16th of March the General sent the Madras and Bombay Sappers to the left bank of the Betwa, eight miles away, with instructions to build a bridge across the stream. The Chief Engineer, however, found it fordable, with a good shingle bottom. On the morning of the 17th of March, the whole force crossed the Betwa and encamped on the left (north) bank. By the execution of daring and delicate manœuvres, Sir Hugh Rose's inferior numbers had driven the enemy from their strongholds farther and farther north. His idea of strategy was to secure the initiative, however inferior his force, to waste no time, and to give the enemy no rest. He had, as in Syria and the Crimea, proved himself absolutely fearless, and his fiery energy had aroused the enthusiasm of his soldiers. His successes had won their confidence, and, though a strict disciplinarian, he had gained their affection by the kindly word and by always sharing their hardships. He had led them, burning to avenge the massacre of the women and children at Jhansi, to within striking distance of the guilty city. On the 1st of March the glad tidings reached him that the 1st brigade, under Brigadier Stuart, had taken by storm the strong fortress of Chanderi. A formidable obstacle to his advance had thus been removed, and within a few days the two brigades would be concentrated for a final move.

The whole force crosses the Betwa, 17th March.

To attack, with a handful of Europeans, a city surrounded by a wall twenty-five feet high, loop-holed and bastioned, protected by a fortress built

on a high granite rock, rendered almost impregnable by art, garrisoned by eleven thousand Afghan mercenaries animated by the spirit of fanaticism, was outside the bounds of ordinary strategy. Lord Canning and Lord Clyde were anxious that the stronghold of the rebel power should speedily fall, but they were constrained to face the possibility of a reverse. On the 11th of February, four days before the main portion of the army destined for the siege of Lucknow had crossed the Ganges, Sir Colin Campbell wrote to Sir Hugh Rose authorising him to pass by Jhansi for the moment, and, in accordance with the general plan of campaign, sweep the rebels before him by marching in two divisions, one on Calpee through Chirkaree and the other on Banda. Lord Canning wrote to Sir Colin Campbell, "I have written Sir R. Hamilton and Sir Hugh Rose, in the sense of your instructions to the latter, imposing upon them, that if for any reason, whether as being too strong for him, or for any other cause, it should be politic to pass by Jhansi for the moment, there is plenty of work for the Nerbudda Field Force in the neighbourhood of the Jumna." No ruler more strongly maintained the fact than Lord Canning that the soldier is the servant of the statesman. But Lord Canning, in his correspondence with military commanders, also recognised the important fact that some special knowledge and practical acquaintance with the working of the military machine is necessary to manœuvre armies. Hugh Rose on the spot saw better the strategical requirements of the

Sir Colin Campbell authorises Sir Hugh Rose to pass by Jhansi.

situation. He too had always foreseen the difficulties of besieging Jhansi with an inadequate force, and he had fully understood the reasons which led the Viceroy and Lord Clyde to give him the option of not attacking it, "but it was impossible," he wrote in a public despatch, "to obey my orders to march to Calpee by Chirkaree and leave such a stronghold as Jhansi untaken in my rear."

Sir Hugh Rose rejects the option.

A month before Sir Colin Campbell wrote to Sir Hugh Rose that he should advance on Calpee through Chirkaree, the Commander of the Central India Field Force had despatched his 1st Brigade from Mhow to march parallel with him as he advanced on Jhansi. It therefore proceeded on the road to Agra, clearing the country as far as Goona. Here it was met by Major Orr, with a detachment of the Hyderabad Contingent of all arms, and Major Keatinge, the Political Officer, who had advanced from Mundesore and done splendid service in re-establishing postal and telegraphic communication. Brigadier Stuart had orders from the Commander-in-Chief to march from Goona, about seventy miles to the westward, and take the important fort of Chanderi, whose capture was necessary in order that the 1st Brigade on the west and the 2nd Brigade on the east of the river Betwa should be concentrated for the attack on Jhansi. The sepoys, after their defeat by Hugh Rose, had gone to Chanderi, whose garrison had sworn to defend it as the Rajputs had defended it in the days of old.[1]

Brigadier Stuart ordered to take the fort of Chanderi.

[1] In January 1528, the Emperor Baber took Chanderi by storm. In his memoirs he writes, "In a short time the pagans rushed out, com-

To capture it was no easy task. The citadel, girt by a rampart of sandstone flanked by circular bastions, stands on the top of a hill, beneath which nestles the outer fort and the town, built entirely of stone. In the days of the great Akbar, it was said, "If you want to see a town whose houses are palaces, visit Chanderi." The rule of Mahratta bandits killed its commercial prosperity, and it became a city of splendid ruins.

Brigadier Stuart approaches Chanderi.

On the 5th of March, Brigadier Stuart encamped six miles from the town. The next day he pushed a reconnaissance in force to clear the jungle that intervened. After a march of three miles, he came to a narrow pass between two high hills. The rebels, according to the wont of Orientals, had not realised the necessity of defending it. Two miles farther, however, he found the road barricaded, and when the engineers began to remove the obstruction, the enemy opened fire from a hill on the left. They were soon dislodged, and the artillery advanced with two companies of the 86th

pletely naked, to attack us; put numbers of my men to flight; and leaped over the ramparts. Some of our troops were attacked furiously, and put to the sword. The reason of this desperate sally from the works was that, on giving up the place for lost, they had put to death all their wives and women, and being resolved not to survive, had stripped themselves naked, in which condition they rushed out to fight, and engaging with ungovernable desperation, drove our people along the ramparts. Two or three hundred pagans had entered Medini Rao's palace, where numbers of them slew each other; one person taking his stand with a sabre in his hand, while the others pressed in one by one in succession and stretched out their necks eager to die. In this way many went to hell, and by the favour of God, in the space of two or three geris, I gained this celebrated fort, without raising my standard or beating my kettle-drum, and without exerting the whole strength of my arms."

on the right, and the 25th Bombay Native Infantry on the left. They had reached within a mile of the fort, when suddenly they came on a wall, which extended from one ridge of hills to another opposite, the valley intervening. "The wall was loopholed, and furnished with bastions, twelve or fourteen feet in height and several in thickness." From the loopholes the enemy sent a devastating fire into the small ranks of the advancing force. But it did not stop them. The men of the 86th, led by Lieutenant Lewin and Major Keatinge of the Bombay Artillery, rushed forward. Lewin and Keatinge were the first to reach the top of the wall, and jumping down, closely followed by the Irish lads, they drove the rebels back into the fort. The wall was destroyed, a force was left at the spot, and the brigade skirted round one of the ranges of hills which commanded the fort, and encamped. Next day Stuart took possession of the woody ridge, which was divided only by a wide jungly ravine, "about as broad as the range of a 9-pounder," from the fort. Some field-guns and mortars were dragged up with difficulty, and opened fire on the palace, the most striking feature of the citadel. "But the enemy's guns replied well, and with good practice; neither could they be silenced." A road had to be constructed along the edge of the ridge in order to bring up the heavy guns of the besiegers, and this entailed much hard work and occupied many days. On the 20th, the 24-pounders were dragged up by the elephants, and being placed in position, opened fire. "It was

Gallantry of Lieutenant Lewin and Major Keatinge.

evident Chanderi had not been so disturbed for many a year. Most of the trees were of a flowering description, and covered with gorgeous blossoms; while flights of parrots screamed among them, monkeys chattered at the soldiery, an occasional panther was turned out of his lair, and wild ducks wheeled overhead."[1] On the breaching battery, which was nearest the fort, the enemy kept up an incessant artillery and musketry fire. "One individual, who possessed a European rifle, and had learnt to use it, caused much annoyance and many wounds, and the bullocks bringing up ammunition afforded them excellent marks."[2] Though the range was very short and point-blank, it was no easy matter to destroy the almost solid rock. After two days of constant bombardment, signs of a breach appeared in the round bastion. On the 15th the Brigadier wrote to the officer commanding the remainder of the 86th, who had been left behind, that the breach would be practicable the following day, but he would defer the assault till the 17th if his men could join him before that time. The County Downs had marched fifteen miles that morning. Twenty-eight miles of a stiff road through a thick jungle remained to be done. They set forth, and by ten o'clock next morning they marched into camp playing "The British Grenadiers."

March of the County Downs.

Taking advantage of the darkness of the night,

[1] "Recollections of the Campaign in Malwa and Central India," by John Henry Sylvester.

[2] Ibid.

Major Keatinge, accompanied by a native, crept barefooted along the scarp of rock which connected the ridge with the hill on which the fort stood, till he came within a few yards of the debris of the battered bastion. An unexpected obstacle now stopped him. A deep trench had been cut in the rock and extended completely across it, being some fourteen feet wide and as many deep. But the knowledge of the ground he had gained was of the utmost service the next day.

Major Keatinge examines the battered bastion.

About three o'clock on the morning of the 17th the two storming parties assembled for the attack. The party, accompanied by the Brigadier and staff, composed of Royal Engineers, Her Majesty's 86th Regiment and 25th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry, was to assault the breach, while the other party, led by Captain Little, composed of Her Majesty's 86th Regiment and men of his own gallant corps (the 25th), was to make a false attack to draw away the resistance that might occur at the breach, and also, if practicable, to enter the fort. Silently the troops ascended to the batteries. As the grey dawn appeared, the British guns opened and sent out shells and rockets into the fort and showers of grape into the breach. The roar of the guns was the signal for attack. The stormers rushed forward. "Scaling ladders were thrown across the cutting at the base of the breach, which in itself was as difficult to mount as could be conceived."[1] Under a mass of fire the soldiers rushed

The storming of Chanderi.

[1] "Recollections of the Campaign in Malwa and Central India," by John Henry Sylvester.

up to the breach and a desperate hand-to-hand fight took place. Keatinge fell, severely wounded. He struggled up, and as he led his men into the fort, was again struck down. The stormers went on, taking gun after gun, now shooting, now bayoneting the enemy, or dashing them over the height into the ravine below. The enemy exploded a mine and some men of the 86th were killed, others horribly burnt. "Their uniform, save the shoes, had been completely burnt away, and their bodies charred and blackened."[1] Little and his party had entered the fort about the same time as Keatinge, and the enemy seeing themselves attacked on two sides, gave up resistance, and the great body of them escaped down through the town beneath, "and were seen in full flight in the jungle beyond, for it was now bright daylight." Every rebel that remained was shot or bayoneted by the Royal County Downs. It was St Patrick's Day, and the Irishmen swore by their Patron Saint that they would avenge "the little babbies and the poor ladies who were butchered in Cawnpore and Jhansi." Chanderi was taken, together with a vast number of guns, and the stormers marched into camp through the deserted town, "the bands playing, of course, 'St Patrick's Day.'" Sir Colin Campbell wrote that the success at Chanderi was mainly owing to the officers, whose really brilliant gallantry he considered was equalled by their ability and devotion.

[1] "Recollections of the Campaign in Malwa and Central India," by John Henry Sylvester.

On the 20th of March, the 2nd Brigade, under the command of Sir Hugh Rose, having marched fifteen miles, reached their encampment, about eight miles from Jhansi. After a rest of two hours, Brigadier Steuart, with the cavalry and artillery, was sent to invest the city.[1] Sir Robert Hamilton, in a memorandum written (20th March 1862) four years after this event, states, "As the infantry were about to follow, an express arrived with a despatch to me from Lord Canning desiring that I would move on Chirkaree to relieve the Rajah, who was besieged by Tantia Topee and the Gwalior Contingent in his fort, General Whitlock's force not being within reach. There came also a despatch from the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Clyde, to Sir Hugh Rose, ordering him to proceed to Chirkaree to save the loyal Rajah of that State." It is hardly probable that Sir Hugh Rose would have moved his infantry from their encampment after a march of fifteen miles, before he had heard the result of the reconnaissance which he had sent Major Boileau to make as to where the batteries should be established. On the 15th of March, the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, wrote from Allahabad to General Whitlock, "From intelligence which has reached the Right Honourable the Governor-General from Chirkaree, it cannot be doubted that the fort of that place has, by this time, fallen into the hands of the insurgents,

Sir Robert Hamilton's memorandum regarding the move on Chirkaree.

[1] From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff.

who were laying siege to it, and who were already masters of the town, part of which was burnt. Punnia and Rewah are also threatened. It is of urgent importance that support should be given to the loyal Chiefs of Bundelcund as soon as possible, and as no troops can be moved into the Bundelcund States from this side of the Jumna, the Governor-General desires me to request that you will proceed at once with the column under your command in the direction of Punnia, Chirkaree, or such other point as you may judge expedient, with the object of supporting the Chiefs who may be threatened by the insurgents, and freeing them from the danger to which they are now exposed." A copy of the letter was forwarded "for the information and guidance of Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force." Sir Hugh Rose, in acknowledging the receipt of the letter, writes: "On the left bank of the River Betwa, 19th March 1858. I have the honour to say that I shall pay the strictest attention to these instructions and be careful to shape my own course so as to give, in combination with Major-General Whitlock, confidence and support to these Chiefs. I may, I hope, be permitted to say that I have received, with sincere pleasure, these instructions; strategically and politically speaking, they are calculated to produce the best effect on this part of India; and they develop and complete a plan of operations, which Sir Robert Hamilton and myself had agreed yesterday that it would be ad-

Letter from Sir Hugh Rose to the Governor-General in Council, 19th March.

General in Council, the supreme military authority in India, that he would carry out his instructions after the reduction of Jhansi, and it is hardly possible that the next day he would consider the order of the Commander-in-Chief imperative, as the order was bound to be written before the 13th of March. From the 27th of February to the 17th of March Lord Clyde was occupied in the capture of Lucknow. On the 11th of February, Lord Clyde had offered to Sir Hugh Rose the option of not attacking Jhansi, and it is unlikely that he would have sent an imperative order on that date. Sir Robert Hamilton also states in his memorandum, "There was not anything left to my discretion in my letter to the Governor-General." But the orders conveyed to General Whitlock and forwarded to Sir Hugh Rose, dated the same day as the letter to Sir Robert Hamilton, were of the most discretionary kind. Sir Robert Hamilton adds, "and I therefore took on myself the responsibility of proceeding with our operations." Sir Robert Hamilton, as Agent to the Governor-General, had no military authority, and Sir Hugh Rose was the last man who would have allowed him to assume "the responsibility of proceeding with our operations." The statements have gained for Sir Robert Hamilton the credit "of giving a decided character to the campaign." But they are entitled to as much credence as the claim that the original plan of the military operations of the Madras and Bombay divisions was mainly due to Sir Robert Hamilton and not to Lord Clyde and

the Chief of his Staff, and that the strategic merits of the campaigns below the Jumna were also due to him. The course of action which Sir Hugh Rose adopted and Sir Robert Hamilton considered best, received the frank approval of the Governor-General. The Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General wrote, "In reply, I am desired by his Lordship to inform you that under the circumstances represented, and with advertence to the fact of Sir Hugh Rose's force having been already committed before Jhansi, the decision taken in respect of the prior reduction of that place was unquestionably right, and is therefore entirely approved."

Sir Hugh Rose arrives before Jhansi, 21st March.

At 2 A.M. on the morning of the 21st of March, the day that Lucknow was finally taken by Sir Colin Campbell, Sir Hugh Rose, with the remainder of his brigade, marched upon Jhansi and arrived before the city about seven o'clock. "The troops piled arms on the right of the road about a mile and a half from the fort, and the General and his staff rode off for the purpose of reconnoitring the city and the surrounding country. They did not return till past 6 P.M." The General had no plan, or even correct description, of the fort and the city, and before the siege operations could begin he had for some days to make long and repeated reconnaissances in order to ascertain the enemy's defences. A fair apprehension of the nature of the conflict which Sir Hugh Rose with an incomplete division undertook, must be based upon some acquaintance with the features of the ground and the nature

The nature of the defences.

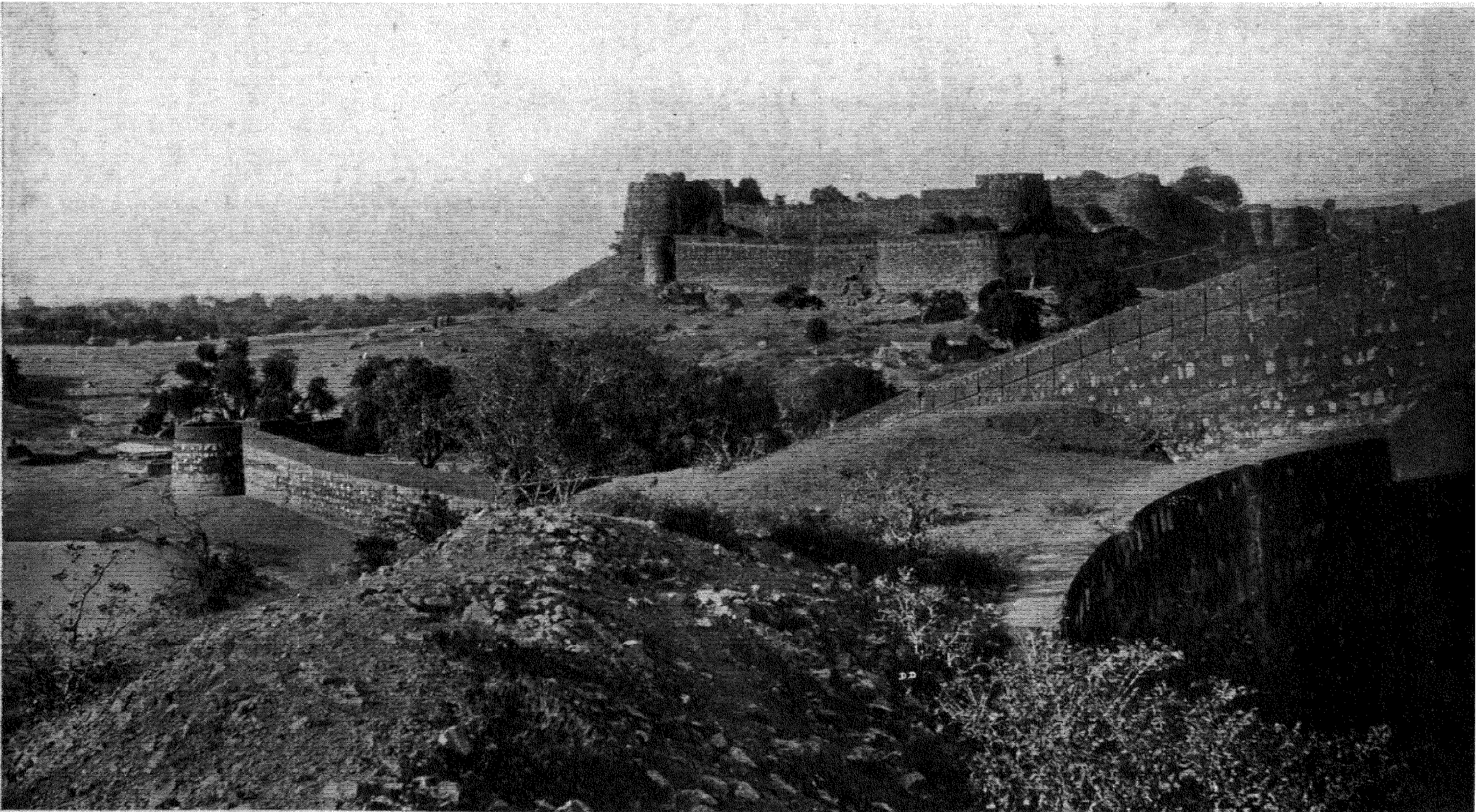
of these defences. The fort presented the most formidable aspect. Built on a huge granite rock, it had walls of solid masonry, in thickness from sixteen to twenty feet, and extensive and elaborate outworks of the same solid construction with front and flanking embrasures for artillery, and loopholes, of which in some places there were five tiers, for musketry. Guns placed on the high towers of the fort commanded the country all around. One of these towers, called the "white turret," had been raised in height by the rebels and mounted with heavy ordnance. From it floated the red standard of the Ranee. Except on the west and part of the south, the fort abutted on the city, which was surrounded by a fortified and massive wall from 6 to 12 feet thick, varying in height from 18 to 30 feet, with numerous flanking bastions armed as batteries with ordnance, and loopholes with a banquette for infantry. The steepness of the rock protected the west, and three flanking bastions protected by their fire the fort's east face. The most important of them was a high mound or mamelon, fortified by a strong circular bastion for five guns, round part of which was drawn a ditch 12 feet deep and 15 feet broad of solid masonry. On the east side, outside the city walls, was a large tank and a picturesque palace, numerous gardens and temples: on the west, another large tank, gardens, and temples. To the right of the British encampment, stretching to the north and east of the city, was a long belt of hills, through which ran the road to Orchha, the ancient capital of Bundelcund, and the fortress of

Calpee, which, rising above the right bank of the Jumna, commanded the road from Jhansi to Cawnpore. To the left of the British encampment were other high hills and the road to Dutteah and Gwalior. Due north of the British forces was the fort. Between the camp and the city were the ruined cantonments, the jail, and the Star Magazine. Near the city wall were groves of tamarind trees, and temples with their gardens, one the Jokeen Bagh, the scene of the massacre. Nine months had rolled on since the men, women, and children had been slaughtered without mercy in that garden and their mangled bodies thrown into a pit. And now a day of vengeance had come. "Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, Woe to the bloody city."

CHAPTER VI.

Sir Hugh Rose's measures for the reduction of Jhansi.

On his arrival at Jhansi, Sir Hugh Rose, following the maxim of Vauban, proceeded to establish seven flying camps as an investing force around the city. He gave to one of the principal camps, commanded by Major Scudamore, half a troop of Horse Artillery, and later, to Major Gall, commander of another camp, two 9-pdrs. "These camps detached to the front outposts and vedettes, which watched and prevented all issue from the city day and night; each camp on any attempt being made to force its base was to call on the others to help." The General gave directions also that the road from the city should be obstructed with trenches and abattis. Many very formidable elements entered into the problem of the siege. There was no means of breaching the fort except from the south, but the south was flanked by the fortified city wall and the mound. The city, therefore, must be taken before attacking the fort, and the fortified mamelon was the key to the city, for it not only covered the south side of the fort, but it also enfiladed two walls of the town and commanded the whole of the south quarter of it, including the palace. The capture of this great work must be an essential part of the plan of attack. Sir Hugh Rose determined to concentrate a heavy fire on the mamelon



THE FORT OF JHANSI.

and on the south of the city, to breach the wall close to the mound and to dismantle the defences which protected it and opposed an attack. After careful reconnaissance, the General selected a rocky knoll (the right attack) on the eastern side, to the south of the lake opposite the Orchha Gate, and a rocky ridge (left attack) on the southern side, as the best spots for his breaching batteries. But these batteries could not be completed till the arrival of the 1st Brigade with its siege guns.

Jhansi invested, 22nd March.

On the 22nd of March, Jhansi was invested, and about 9 P.M. that evening the Madras and Bombay Sappers moved silently from camp in company with two 18-pdrs., howitzers and mortars, and a company of the 24th Native Infantry, for the purpose of throwing up a battery, the first on the right attack near the Orchha road. In the night's dead silence they could hear the hum of voices in the city, and through the darkness they saw the glimmer of a torch or lantern passing to and fro on the ramparts. As the heavy guns neared their destination, the darkness was broken by a sudden flash before them. The men halted, prepared to resist an attack. Several officers pushed their horses forward: and they found that the light came from a detachment of the 3rd Europeans, who had taken possession of the position where the battery was to be erected. In the night a mortar battery was thrown up on a little temple, and the heavy guns placed in batteries on the rocky ridge about three hundred yards from the walls. When morning broke and the enemy caught

Construction of the batteries on the right attack.

sight of the opposing batteries, they opened fire from the guns of the fort and from two or three batteries on the city wall. "At first the shots passed over us, but by-and-by they got our range exactly and then their shots struck the sand-bags and the temple almost every time. There was generally time to bob one's head beneath the bags when they fired before the shot reached, but one of their guns, which we named 'Whistling Dick,' never gave us time for this precaution, for the puff of smoke was scarcely seen before the shot whizzed over your head, or came with a heavy thud on the battery."

The batteries on the right attack open fire, 25th March.

On the evening of the 24th, four batteries were ready on the *right attack*, and at daylight on the 25th they opened fire. On that day the siege-train of the 1st Brigade arrived. The next morning the Madras Sappers marched, with a working party of the Royal Engineers, to erect batteries on the *left attack* upon a rough rocky eminence about four hundred yards from the fort. Below this rocky ridge was a small defile, and from it, nearer to the enemy, the ground sloped upwards to a small plateau. This was taken possession of under a very galling cross-fire from the fort guns and those on the bastions on the walls. The Royal Artillery, commanded by Captain Ommaney, soon got a 10-inch howitzer into position, and the Hyderabad Artillery brought up other guns. As the native artillerymen were laying the gun, a round shot from the fort killed a subahdar and a havildar. A sepoy of the contingent quietly

Construction of batteries on the left attack.

remarked, "there is luck for somebody." All day and through the night of the 25th the British troops were hard at work throwing up cover for their guns, and by morning they were placed in position. Two 18-pounders were to dismantle the defences of the fort, while the two 10-inch mortars destroyed it. Two 8-inch mortars and one 8-inch howitzer were to play on the mound and adjacent wall and city. One 18-pounder was to breach the wall near the bastion of the mound. On the morning of the 26th the guns opened fire. At sunset the parapets of the White Turret, the Black Tower, and the Tree Tower, which faced the left attack, were knocked into shapeless heaps by the fire of the two 18-pounders. The mortars hurling their missiles into the air, to drop thence into the fort and there explode, created great havoc. The General, having pointed out to Lieutenant Pittman, Bombay Horse Artillery, the position of a powder-magazine, "respecting which I had information,[1] he blew it up in the third shot, keeping up a well-directed fire on the fort." Eight days and nights from the right and left attack did the terrific storm of iron hail endure; eight days and nights did the rebels maintain the fight, their guns being admirably managed by a Bengal artilleryman "who has been distinctly seen through a telescope lay-

The batteries on the left attack open fire, 26th March.

Eight days and nights the bombardment continues.

[1] "We have a fakir prisoner, who was present in Jhansi when the massacre of our countrywomen and men took place: his life was spared on condition that he would point out where the magazine of the rebels was situated; and I am glad to say his information has proved of some service already."—Letter from Camp before Jhansi, dated March 16th.

ing them so as to make them bear on our positions."[1] Many guns were silenced, but the damage was swiftly repaired and the guns put once more in fighting condition. When the parapets were swept away, the native women were seen working on the walls repairing them. Riflemen to fire at the parapets and the embrasures and loopholes were placed in all the batteries, with sand-bags to protect them. They also occupied various advanced positions behind boulders of granite, cottage walls and temples, from whence they killed and wounded a considerable number of the enemy. But the rebels met wounds and death with a calm constancy. "Notwithstanding the damage done to their fort and works upon the wall, their vigilance and determination to resist abated not one iota; on the contrary, their danger appeared to add to their courage." It was now the hottest season of the year, but the British gunners continued their work in the scorching sun "as though it were winter time." During the midday heat, the rebels, however, scarcely fired a shot. In the afternoon they opened a tremendous fire of every kind. "Round shots of various sizes bounded over our heads, and matchlock balls whizzed like hail above us. From this hour till sunset was always a dangerous time and our poor fellows were severely tried." In the cool of the evening, the Ranee of Jhansi with her handmaids, wrapped in bright, radiant vesture, went to the batteries and roused the zeal of her soldiers by her presence and her

[1] Letter from Camp before Jhansi, dated March 16th.

fiery words.[1] When sable night came, the shells, climbing the sky, dropped into the city, lurid gleams rose from the buildings and cheer upon cheer burst forth from our batteries.

The East Battery established.

The Garden Battery, on a rock in rear of the west wall of the city, and the Wheel Tower on the south, greatly annoyed the left attack. The two 8-inch mortars and occasionally the two 10-inch mortars of the left attack answered the former.[2] To silence the latter a new battery called the Kaho Tehree, or East Battery, was established to the east of the rocky ridge. But the two 5½-inch mortars with which it was armed not proving sufficient, two 8-inch mortars and a 9-pounder were substituted for them. "Before the sand-bag battery could be made for the 9-pounder, Acting

1 "A bombardier in charge of one of the breaching guns reported to Sir Hugh Rose, on one occasion, that 'he had covered the Queen and her ladies with his gun,' and asked permission to fire on them; but he was told that that kind of warfare was not approved."—"Clyde and Strathnairn," by Major-General Sir Owen Tudor Burne, K.C.S.I.

2 "No one considered the left attack a desirable spot. Any one ran a considerable risk of being hit going in, and as great coming out, and almost as large a one when in the batteries. It was situated on a rising ground opposite their chief battery, the mamelon, and very close to it; there were no trees for shelter from the sun, and only large fragments of rock, well heated through, under which to take shelter from the enemy's fire. The men working the guns and mortars here were necessarily much exposed, and we lost a good many, chiefly gunners of the Hyderabad Contingent. Captain George Hare, commanding a regiment of infantry of that service, held this attack during the greater part of the siege. Any kind of ease when not actually engaged was totally out of the question. The rock was so hot no one could sit or lie on it without feeling scorched, and when standing upright the head of the individual was exposed to the enemy's fire."—"Recollections of the Campaign in Malwa and Central India," by John Henry Sylvester, p. 91.

Bombardier Brenna, of Captain Ommaney's company, Royal Artillery, quite a lad, commanded and pointed the 9-pounder in the open, and silenced the enemy's gun in battery on the bastion, destroying besides its defences. I praised him for his good service on the ground, and promoted him."

The bombardment.

On the 30th, our batteries had disabled and dismantled the defences of the fort and city and disabled the enemy's best guns. The wall, however, was so solid, and the masonry so hard, that the two breaching guns made but little impression the first two days. Only a small breach near the mound could be seen. The ammunition was giving out. It was evident there would not be sufficient to multiply breaches in the town wall, or to establish a main breach in the south double wall of the fort. Under these circumstances the officers commanding the artillery and engineers called to the General's notice the necessity of having recourse to escalade. To this he gave his consent, requiring, however, that the breach near the mound should form an important and principal point of attack.[1] In order to widen the breach, Sir Hugh Rose concentrated on it day and night an overwhelming fire from the 18-pounder and the 8-inch howitzer. From the mortar batteries also, in the centre and left attacks, shells were poured day and night into the mound and adjoining houses. But with many

[1] "Both of these officers," writes Sir Hugh Rose, "entertained a mistrust of the breach, thinking that it was mined or not practicable." —From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Force, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Camp Mote, the 30th April 1858.

guns disabled, many men killed and wounded, the enemy maintained the fight.

With the view to acquire rapid information respecting the enemy's movements, Sir Hugh Rose had established a telegraph upon one of the hills east of Jhansi, which commanded an extensive view of the country north and east. On the afternoon of the 31st, the General was in the battery on the right, completing his arrangements for storming the next day, when an aide-de-camp rode up and informed him that flags were flying from the signal, indicating that the enemy were coming in great force from the north. "He rode off as quietly as though nothing of importance awaited his orders." But Sir Hugh Rose knew he was in imminent danger. Before him was a strong fortress garrisoned by 11,000 desperate men; behind him, close to him, within hail of their friends at Jhansi, was an army of 20,000 strong, chiefly consisting of the redoubtable Gwalior Contingent who had fought Sir Colin Campbell at Cawnpore. They were commanded by Tantia Topee, the ablest leader the mutineers had produced. It was a supreme moment. If Sir Hugh withdrew his troops from the investment of the siege, the *morale* of the besieged would be improved and he might be overwhelmed by a combined attack. His alternative was victory or ruin. Hesitation or doubt had no part in his nature. He resolved at once to meet the enemy, while not relaxing the siege or withdrawing a single man from the pickets. The force at his disposal for the battle did not number over

Arrival of Tantia Topee with a large force.

1500 men of all arms, and among them he had not 500 British infantry.

Hugh Rose's dispositions were swiftly made. Soon after he left the battery, the 1st Brigade, or as many of them as could be spared, struck camp and moved along the Calpee road, on the Jhansi side of the Telegraph Hill. It was now dark, and they marched on over against the right flank of the enemy unobserved, and remained there under arms all night. "By-and-by elephants came silently up to the battery and took off two 24-pounders, which were placed upon the Orchha road near the hill, so as to check the enemy making for the city this way." The 2nd Brigade remained under arms in their camp and the pickets along the whole British line were strengthened and ready for action.[1] About 8 P.M. the enemy reconnoitred in force, and, deceived as to our numbers by the removal of the 1st Brigade, took up a position close in front of our camp, and their watch-fires burned in multitudes. When the besieged saw from the walls the fires burning in the plain, they raised a loud shout and fired a salute. All night their drums beat, their bugles sounded, and their riflemen poured their fire into the batteries. All night our batteries threw their shot and shell into the city.

Battle of the Betwa, 1st April 1858.

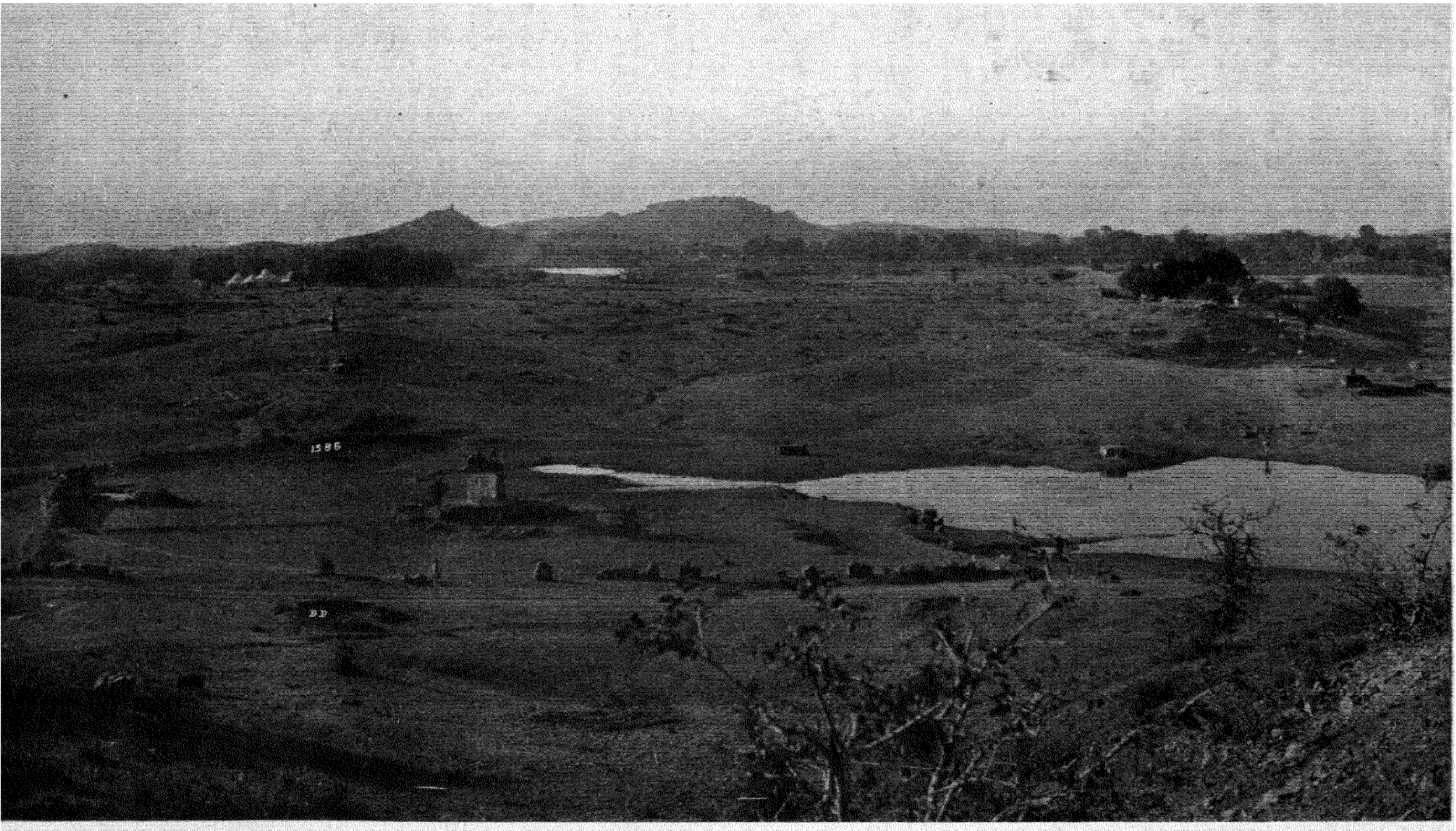
Between 4 and 5 A.M., when it was still dark, the British pickets began to fall back on their support, and so soon as early dawn shone forth, dense masses of infantry, accompanied by numerous batteries and many hundred cavalry, were seen

[1] "Central India," by Thomas Lowe, p. 245 f.

pouring over a knoll. On they came, their long line spreading far beyond the British flanks, waving innumerable banners of all colours and devices, beating drums, and their bayonets gleaming in the sun. Opposed to them was a short thin line consisting of fifteen hundred men. In the centre were the heavy guns supported by the 3rd Europeans, the 24th Bombay Native Infantry, and the Hyderabad Infantry; on the right of the line a troop of 14th Dragoons and one of the Hyderabad Cavalry with the Eagle Troop Horse Artillery; and on the left Captain Lightfoot's field battery and two troops of Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons. No sooner had the enemy reached within six hundred yards of the British line than they unlimbered, and their guns began with the roar of thunder to pour forth a storm of fire, which was at once answered. Musketry replied to musketry, and as their superior fire began to tell on our close ranks around the big guns, the infantry were ordered to lie down. The battle was now fully developed, and dense blue clouds of smoke covered the vast plain, through which could be seen dark bodies moving on our left flank. Sir Hugh Rose knew that if he were outflanked the small party that were investing the city would be literally between two fires, and they must fight for life. An attack in front against the enormous disproportion of forces would not succeed even if he sacrificed his last man in the attempt to stop the enemy. But their flanks were capable of being rolled together if well struck. He acted without hesitation. He ordered the artillery from

both flanks of the line to advance, the Eagle Troop Horse Artillery to the right, so as to crush the enemy's gunners by an enfilading fire. As the movement on the right was being accomplished, one of the guns was knocked over and disabled. The enemy raised a loud yell of triumph. Hugh Rose directed Lieutenant Clarke of the Hyderabad Cavalry to charge the enemy's battery. They went forward at full gallop, but showers of grape and volleys from the Afghan matchlock-men mowed them down and checked their advance. Again and again they charged, but their attempts on that battery proved vain. Their gallant leader fell severely wounded. When Hugh Rose saw the enemy following up the Hyderabad Cavalry, he felt the supreme moment had arrived. Placing himself at the head of Need's troop of dragoons, he dashed into the enemy's left, and at the same time Prettyjohn and MacMahon charged their right. "This was a magnificent sight," says an eyewitness, "and in a moment the enemy's ranks were a mass of confusion. The British infantry, seeing the confusion, sprang up, poured into the mass before them one deadly volley, and with level bayonets plunged on them. The rebels broke and fled. The British force followed the flying herd. Many of the enemy, however, preserving their resolution and courage, gathered in masses in the ravines and behind rocks, and fought desperately hand to hand.[1] The cavalry

[1] "I saw one sergeant of the Horse Artillery hewn in pieces in one of these nullahs, while numbers of our troops were close at hand. He had cut down two of the enemy, and was then attacked by others from



THE FIELD OF RETRIBUTION.

charged through and through them, and the plain was covered with single fugitives. The horsemen pursued them, slashing with their swords, and the rebels hid behind stones and bushes to have one last shot before they died. The vigorous chase was continued until the cavalry suddenly found themselves confronting a long line of infantry, artillery, and cavalry drawn up on some jungly ground. It was the third division of the Peshwa's army under the personal command of Tantia Topee. He at once opened his guns on the cavalry, and Turnbull's and Lightfoot's batteries replied.

Brigadier Stuart defeats a large detachment of the enemy.

Meanwhile Brigadier Stuart, with the 1st Brigade, had moved round the hill on the plain in the enemy's right and encountered the large detachment of the enemy which Tantia had sent the previous night to enter Jhansi from the north. After a short tussle, Stuart drove them before him, and the 86th, the 25th Native Infantry, and the cavalry pursued.

Tantia Topee, on seeing his front line broken, his right flank turned, and our troops moving on second line, determined to retreat across the Betwa. He caused the jungle to be set on fire, and then, under cover of the smoke and flame, moved rapidly towards the river, his artillery constantly pouring shot into our advancing columns. "It now became," says Sir Hugh Rose, "a cavalry and horse

behind; he fell in the ditch, and was there sadly cut up, while numbers of the enemy were being slain beside him. The man who had cut him down then ran amongst us and figured away like a mad dog, first stepping one way, then another, brandishing his bloody tulwar, until he fell shot by a 3rd European."

artillery affair." Sir Hugh Rose himself, with the guns of the Eagle Troop and the field battery under Captain Lightfoot, galloped through the ravaging fire and caught up the enemy at a small village near the river, "which is broad, shallow, and strong here." They at once opened on the enemy as they were recrossing the Betwa. Tantia's infantry attempted to arrest the progress of the British troops by volleys of musketry, and his guns sent forth a heavy fire. But the cavalry continued the pursuit with undiminished ardour until all the enemy's guns were captured. Tantia Topee himself fled to Calpee. His army of 20,000 men had been broken and dispersed, and a thousand of them lay dead on the field of Betwa. By sunset, the small band of victors returned to camp. The enemy's guns had ceased firing, and they kept deep silence in the city. That morning, when the booming of Tantia's artillery was heard, the rebels in the fort and town opened a tremendous fire on our batteries. "They mounted the bastions and the walls, and shouted and yelled, and poured down volleys of musketry until it was thought they intended to make a sortie, while every tower of the fort was enveloped in flame and smoke." A few moments of fervent joy and then they saw from the fort Tantia's host fleeing across the plain. All hope of relief was gone. All day the batteries of the besiegers poured in their shot and shell. The tottering defences were wasting away under the breaching guns. Great numbers tried to escape from the northern gate of the city, but were all

Tantia Topee flies to Calpee.

cut up by our line of cavalry pickets or fell by the rifle. But the spirits of the more brave remained unsubdued. They must make their stand, and they must die, if they could not preserve Jhansi from falling into the hands of the infidels.

On the 2nd of April, Major Boileau, the Chief Engineer, having reported that all the necessary preparations had been made for the escalade, the General issued a division order for the assault of the defences of the city wall the following morning, and a copy of the order with a plan of attack was furnished to the officers in command. That afternoon Sir Hugh rode down to one of the batteries on the right attack to look to the ladders which lay below under the cover of the hill. He then went to the left attack, and inspected, as far as possible, the condition of the breach. The order to attack was known only to the commanding officers. At two o'clock in the morning the men were awoke with the words, "Assault immediately." An hour later, the storming parties moved in dead silence to the positions marked out for them to wait for the signal. It was to be three guns fired in succession by Captain Ommaney on the western side. A feint attack was also to be made on the west wall by a small detachment under Major Gall, 14th Light Dragoons. The assault column of the 1st Brigade, under Brigadier Stuart, who were to make the left attack, consisted of 21st Company Royal Engineers, the 86th Foot, and 25th Bombay Native Infantry. They were divided into two parties, one party, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lowth,

The order to attack given.

The assaulting columns.

86th Regiment, was to storm the breach, the other party, led by Major Stuart, 86th Regiment, was to escalade the rocket tower and the low curtain immediately to the right. The brigade under Brigadier Steuart, 14th Dragoons, consisted of the Madras and Bombay Sappers, the 3rd Bombay Europeans, and the infantry of the Hyderabad Contingent. They were also divided into two parties, the right commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Liddell, the left by Captain Robinson, both of the 3rd Europeans, who were to escalade the town wall at the points indicated.

Storming of Jhansi. Right attack.

The stormers waited for some time in suspense for the signal. The moon was very bright, and at any moment they might be discovered by the enemy. It was not till dawn began to shine forth that the order to advance was given in a voice a little above a whisper. The ladders were hoisted upon the shoulders of the Sappers, and, preceded by the 3rd Europeans and Hyderabad Infantry, they moved from their cover. No sooner did the stormers of the left attack turn into the road leading towards the gate than the enemy's bugles sounded, and a fearful storm of missiles poured upon them from the long line of the wall and the towers of the fort. "For a time it appeared like a sheet of fire out of which burst a storm of bullets, round shot, and rockets destined for our annihilation." More than two hundred yards to march through this fire deluge. And they did it. The sappers planted the ladders in three places for the stormers to ascend. But the rebels sent down

upon them from the walls volleys of musketry, rockets, earthen pots filled with powder, logs of wood, every sort of missile on which they could lay their hands. Many of the stormers fell, and the living sheltered themselves behind stones. But the native sappers, animated by the heroism of their officers, kept firm hold of the ladders. Major Boileau, the Chief Engineer, proceeded in hot haste to the Brigadier, who was in command of the reserve, reported that the ladders were without protection, and asked for some Europeans. Steuart gave him a hundred men of the 3rd Bombay Europeans that were with the reserve. The stormers, reinforced again, rushed at the ladders. In a few moments, Lieutenant Dick, of the Bombay Engineers, was at the foot of one of the ladders, and ran up, calling on the 3rd Europeans to follow him. He fell from the walls, bayoneted, and shot dead. Lieutenant Meiklejohn and a man of the 3rd Europeans had reached the wall when their ladder, owing to the crush of men that followed, broke, and, left alone on the walls, they were literally hewn to pieces. Lieutenant Bonus mounted another ladder, and was hurled down, struck by a stone in the face,[1] and Lieutenant Fox, Madras Sappers, was shot through the neck. Corporal Hard, Privates Rogers and

[1] "Lieutenant Bonus, Bombay Engineers, has also been specially brought to my notice for the gallant manner in which he led up and maintained his position on the ladder until disabled and knocked over by the blow of a stone."—From Brigadier C. Steuart, C.B., Commanding 2nd Brigade, Central India Field Force, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Central India Field Force, dated Camp, Jhansi, the 29th April 1858.

Archibald, all of the Grenadier Company, and Private Drummond, No. 1, and Private Doran, No. 3 Company of the 3rd European Regiment, all fought gallantly till the ladder gave way. Lieutenant-Colonel Liddell, on finding the ladders of no service, ordered Lieutenant Goodfellow, Bombay Engineers, to try a bag of powder at a postern.[1]

Explosion of the postern gate.

Assisted by a few native sappers, the gallant young engineer carried it, under a shower of bullets, to the postern gate, fired it, and out flew the door in fragments. The soldiers made a rush into the cloud of smoke to get through the entrance, but even that failed: it was filled by huge blocks of stone and masonry. Nothing remained now but to bring away the dead and wounded. "Ensign Newport and Private Gillman, of No. 1 Company, 3rd Bombay European Regiment, assisted by Corporal Hard of the Grenadiers, carried off the body of Lieutenant Fox of the Madras Sappers and Miners through the hottest fire." The baffled column moved back to the rifle-pits. Meanwhile, Captain Robinson, 3rd Bombay European Regiment, having been informed that some of the 86th Regiment had entered by the breach to his left, "doubled some of his party round to that point, at which he effected an entrance and cleared the ramparts so as to enable the remainder to mount the ladders unopposed."

[1] "Recollections of the Campaign in Malwa and Central India under Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, G.C.B.," by Assistant Surgeon John Henry Sylvester.

Left attack.

Before the first grey of morning filled the east, the stormers of the left attack had got unobserved within 350 yards of the wall, "which was about twenty-three feet high." The three guns were heard, and both parties tramped forward steadily. When about one hundred yards from the Rocket Tower and the low curtain immediately to the right, Stuart of the 86th, who commanded the escalading party, roared out, "Now, lads, for an Irish yell," and the Irish yell rose high above the storm of musketry which burst on them.[1] They dashed forward, and with them went the gallant sepoys of the 25th. Many fell. When they came beneath the walls, stink-pots, rockets, and red-hot balls were poured down upon them. More fell. But the ladders were placed. Up rushed Dartnell (86th), Fowler (86th), Webber (R.E.), and Stuart (86th), followed by the men. Dartnell was the first man up, and for a moment he was alone. The Afghans hacked at him, and he saved his life by protecting his head from their sabres with his arms, which were frightfully cut. Fowler, now reaching the wall, shot one or two of his opponents, and so saved his life. After a great death-wrestle, the mamelon was gained, and the soldiers, running down the incline to the street leading to the palace, were joined by the storm-

[1] From Brigadier C. S. Stuart, Commanding 1st Brigade, Central India Field Force, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Central India Field Force, Camp, Jhansi, 13th April 1858.

ers of the breach, who, led by Captain Darby, "in the most gallant manner had carried it with little loss."[1]

Capture of the palace.

Sir Hugh Rose, who had entered the breach with the troops, now determined to take the palace. The street ran close under the fort walls, and a large open space, exposed to a flanking musketry fire from an outwork of the fort and from the houses and the palace in front, had to be crossed. But, though staggered by this double fire on front and flank, the little band were not stayed in their course, and, led by the General, they went steadily on. Darby, Sewell, and Holroyd, all of the 86th, with many of their men, fell wounded. "Sewell was badly hit, but young Jerome and a man named Burns of the 86th carried him off at the risk of their lives." A position in the street was gained, and here Dr Stack was shot through the heart while attending the wounded.[2] The General now directed loopholes for riflemen to be made through the houses (which brought a fire to bear on the outwork of the fort), a large house to be óccupied close to the palace, and covered communication to be made to the mound.[3] "During the whole of this time General Rose was walking about among

[1] The foregoing is taken from an account written at the time by one who was present.

[2] "A doctor's duty with the storming party is a dangerous one. Dr Stack of the 86th was shot through the heart on the left attack, and Dr Miller severely wounded on the right attack."—"Central India," by Thomas Lowe.

[3] From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Camp, Mote, the 30th April 1858.

and worked them materially helped to win the day. He had that morning entered the breach with Sir Hugh Rose, and was sent by him to bring guns into the city to batter the houses which the rebels held. From a window of one of them he was shot through the abdomen. "The blood welled from his wound, and I knew he would die."[1] Thus fell that fine soldier, and his "premature fate," wrote Sir Hugh Rose, "prevented his receiving the reward which was his due."

A large portion of the city occupied.

The right and left attacks being concentrated in the palace, the General gained possession of a large portion of the city by advancing the 3rd Europeans to the north-east while the 86th held the palace. The two regiments occupied with pickets commanding houses to their front. All day the bloody work of clearing the houses went on. Thirty or forty Afghan troopers, the chosen body-guard of the Ranee, occupied the palace stables under the fire of the fort. Detachments of Her Majesty's 86th and 3rd Europeans were sent to take them. Sergeant Brown was the first to dash boldly into the stable-yard, closely followed by his comrades. The sowars sent through windows and loopholes a well-sustained fusilade. The Afghans, when some of the 86th attempted to enter the stables, cut at them with their swords, "and the wounded men," says a surgeon who was present, "came staggering out with the most ter-

Desperate fighting at the palace stables.

[1] "Central India," by Thomas Lowe, p. 357. Dr Lowe is incorrect in saying that he was shot from a window of the palace.

rible sword-cuts I ever saw in my life." Driven from the stables by the bayonet, they retreated behind the houses, still firing, or fighting with their swords in both hands till they were shot or bayoneted, struggling, even when dying on the ground, to strike again. "A party of them remained in a room off the stables which was on fire till they were half burnt; their clothes in flames, they rushed out hacking at their assailants and guarding their heads with their shields." [1] All the sowars were killed, but not without several casualties on our side. Captain Sandwith, who "commanded with spirit the Europeans on this occasion," [2] was among the wounded. In the quarters of the Ranee's bodyguard was found an English Union Jack of silk, which Lord William Bentinck had given a former Rajah of Jhansi. [3] "And when it was brought out into the yard, how the Royal County Downs yelled and cheered!" The General granted the soldiers their request, "to hoist on the palace the flag of their country which they had so bravely won." It was instantly taken to the top

[1] From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Camp, Mote, the 30th April 1858.

[2] Ibid.

[3] "The gallant soldiers captured in the quarters of the sowars the Ranee's standards, three standards of the bodyguard, three kettle-drums and horses, and an English Union Jack of silk, which Sir Robert Hamilton tells me Lord William Bentinck had given to the grandfather of the husband of the Ranee, with the permission to have it carried before him as a reward for his fidelity, a privilege granted to no other Indian Prince."—Ibid.

of the palace by the adjutant of the 86th, and put up, under a heavy fire from the fort.[1] Meanwhile the fighting from house to house went on. And Jhansi was a slaughter-pen reeking under the hot eastern sun.

The rebels occupy a hill to the west of the fort.

Sir Hugh Rose, while present at the attack on the stables, received a report that about four hundred of the enemy had tried to force a picket, had been driven back, and had occupied a high and rocky hill to the west of the fort. The General immediately ordered out from the camps of the two brigades the available troops of all arms against the hill. The force consisted of Woolcombe's battery, some companies of the 24th Native Infantry and Hyderabad Contingent Infantry, with a few dragoons under the command of Major Gall. The hill was an isolated rock with paths or shelves on it. It was surrounded, and round shot and shell was sent into the midst of the rebels to bring them down. But they knew death awaited them below. Then the infantry was sent to attack them, and sweeping steadily on, killed all of them, fighting to the last, except about twenty who gained an eminence difficult to approach. They then blew themselves up. The Ranee's father, who was amongst the rebels on the hill, was wounded. Better if he had died sword in hand. But not better for justice; for he was a chief instigator of that enormous

The 24th Bombay Native Infantry take it by assault.

[1] "Central India," by Thomas Lowe, p. 259.—Dr Sylvester writes that it "was hoisted on the palace by Captain Darby under a heavy fire from the fort."

crime which led to the vast and bloody tragedy of Jhansi. He was taken prisoner a few days afterwards and hanged on a tree in the garden where the women and children had been slain.

When the long eastern summer day was closing, the signalling party telegraphed from the observatory that the enemy were approaching from the east. Sir Hugh Rose had to reoccupy, with all the force he could collect, the field of action of the Betwa, "the devoted troops marching to a fresh combat after thirteen hours' fighting in a burning sun with as much spirit as if they had not been engaged at all." The alarm, however, proved to be a false one.

The next day the General and Brigadier Stuart occupied by a combined movement the rest of the city. They were assisted by Major Gall, "who spiritedly scaled the bastion at the Onao gate from his flying camp, and capturing the gun that was there, threw it down the rampart." A large number of soldiers were killed that day in the street-fighting that still went on. During the night there was heard a good deal of firing at the cavalry pickets outside. At dawn on the morning of the 5th it was reported that the fort was evacuated.[1] "Brigadier Stuart, his staff, and

The rest of the city occupied.

[1] "On the morning of the 5th, Lieutenant Baigrie, 3rd Europeans, went up to the fort gate and found it open; he went on from gate to gate, peeping and seeing no one, at length found himself in the possession of the fort of Jhansi."—"Central India," by Thomas Lowe, p. 260.

"A picket of the 86th Regiment, being near the gateway of the fort, saw it was open, and as the men were not fired on, they cautiously

The Union Jack planted on the tower of the fort, 5th April 1858.

Colonel Lowth with some thirty men of the 86th Regiment, the adjutant of that corps carrying the Union Jack, left the palace and marched through the gate of the fort. They then planted the colours in the Queen's name, with three times three, on the square tower." Then was discovered the full strength of the citadel. "There was only one part of the fortress," writes Sir Hugh Rose, "the south curtain, which was considered practicable for breaching. But when inside, we saw this was a mistake, there being at some distance in rear of the curtain a massive wall, fifteen or twenty feet thick, and immediately in rear of this a deep tank cut from the live rock."

Escape of the Ranee.

During the night, "the first really dark night since our arrival," the Ranee's horse had been brought into the fort ditch. Let down from a window in the turret, she was mounted with her step-son in her lap, and accompanied by three hundred Afghans and twenty-five troopers she stole away from the fort.[1] On reaching one of the pickets the party was headed back and separated. The Ranee with a few troopers rode as fast as their horses could speed for Bhandara, twenty-one miles from Jhansi. In the morning a wounded Mahratta retainer of the Ranee was despatched from a flying camp to convey the news to the General. He im-

approached, and finally, with some officers, entered, and found it evacuated to a man. The red flag now gave place to the Union Jack."—"Recollections of the Campaign in Malwa and Central India," by Assistant Surgeon John Henry Sylvester, p. 113.

[1] "Clyde and Strathnairn," by Major-General Sir Owen Tudor Burne, K.C.S.I., p. 123.

mediately sent off strong detachments of Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, 3rd Light Cavalry, and Hyderabad Cavalry to pursue, with guns to support them, as it was said that Tantia Topee had sent a force to meet the Ranee. When they came in sight of Bhandara the cavalry discerned the Irregular Horse sent to meet her. They immediately separated, probably with the view to mislead her pursuers as to her real course. Captain Forbes sent Lieutenant Dowker through Bhandara, whilst he, with the 3rd Light Cavalry and 14th Light Dragoons, passed it by on the left. As he rode through the town, he saw traces of the Ranee's hasty flight and her tent, in which was spread an unfinished breakfast. On the other side of the city he came up with forty of the enemy, consisting of Rohillas and Bengal Cavalry, and after a short sharp tussle they were slain. Pressing on, he caught sight of the Ranee on her grey horse, accompanied by four attendants. The Mahratta Queen was as much at ease galloping a horse as in the zenana listening to her favourite minstrel, and a stern-chase ensued. The British subaltern was fast gaining on her, when a shot was fired and he fell from his horse severely wounded, and had to abandon the pursuit.

Meanwhile, Sir Hugh Rose caused the outskirts of the city to be scoured by cavalry and infantry, and there was many a desperate struggle. The carnage was terrible, for the Afghan and Rohilla sold his life to the British soldier hand to hand. Forty of them barricaded themselves in a house

with vaults and a courtyard. A detachment of infantry, without knowing its strength, dashed forward to the assault. But the Afghans aimed coolly, and every shot told. They could not scale the wall, and in vain they tried to break open the massive door with the butts of their muskets. Reinforcements were brought up, and several pieces of siege artillery, but, even when the house had been breached and knocked to pieces, the rebels continued to resist in the passages and vaults. And after they had slain and wounded many of their deadly foemen, they all perished. It was the last of a series of combats, which terminated the siege of Jhansi, so boldly undertaken and so desperately finished.

Remarks on the siege.

The capture of Jhansi must rank with the great actions recorded in British annals. A force consisting of an incomplete division had laid siege to a strong fortress and a walled city, defended by a garrison more than double their number of desperate and disciplined men, supplied with all the munitions of war. It was the hottest season of the year, and from sunrise to sunset the infantry, artillery, and engineers had to conduct their operations without a morsel of shade to protect them, and amidst boulders which radiated all day an unbearable glare and blasts of scorching heat. Many perished from the sun and the long unbroken toil. For seventeen days and nights the men of Scudamore's cavalry brigade never took off their clothes, nor let their horses stand unbridled. The Bombay sepoy and the Madras sapper vied

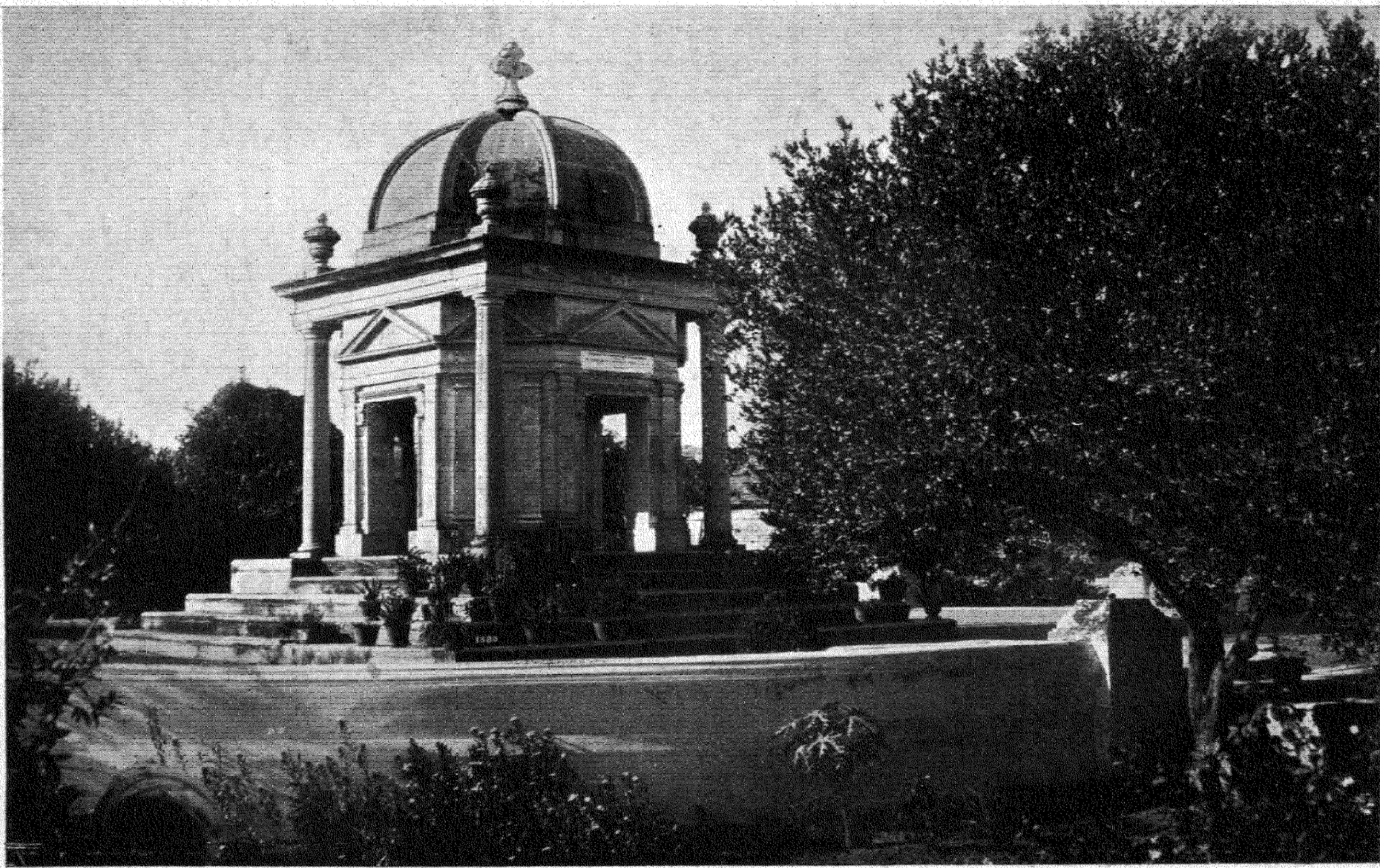
with the British soldier in patience, endurance of privation, and fatigue. Then in light of day this handful of men stormed the lofty walls, and, after four days' strenuous fighting, the city was captured. The loss of the victors amounted to 307 killed and wounded, of whom thirty-six were officers; that of the enemy was about 5000. The British soldier fought to avenge the foul murder of the women and children—the rebels, for existence. But though the British soldier is ready ever to strike an enemy and to take a stern revenge for innocent blood shed, there is in his conduct and character a great deal of gentleness and gallantry. When Jhansi was captured and the actual fight was over, a large number of the inhabitants were found to be in a complete state of destitution. "Both those reputed wealthy," to quote one among a number of witnesses, "and the very poor were all suffering alike, and it was strange to see our men serving out food for mothers and their children by the light of their blazing houses, and frequently beside the bodies of their slaughtered husbands or parents. Yet such assuredly was the case."

The burial service in the garden, 15th April 1858.

On the evening of the 15th of April, after the struggle was over and the battle fought and won, the British soldiers were assembled outside the city wall near the garden where the men, women, and children had been slaughtered. Sir Hugh Rose and his staff, and the two chaplains who through all the storm, heedless of bullets, did their Master's work, ministering to the wounded and consoling the dying, stood over the pit where

the bodies were buried. And there arose, as if from the slain that lay in the grave, the words, "Man that is born of woman hath but a short time to live and is full of misery," and then there came the closing note of victory. "I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, From henceforth blessed are the dead which die in the Lord: Even so saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labours."[1]

[1] As in the case of the massacre at Cawnpore the darkest tints predominate, but the reality was not so black as it was painted. Captain Pinkney, Superintendent of the Jhansi District, in his official report writes: "The females were not taken before the Ranee, nor were their faces blackened nor were they dishonoured as it has been erroneously reported."



MEMORIAL TOWER AT JHANSI.

CHAPTER VII.

Jhansi, the great stronghold of the mutineers in Central India, had been taken, but Calpee, their well-fortified arsenal, full of warlike stores and ammunition, on the right bank of the Jumna, remained to be captured. It was a place of great strategic importance, and so long as Calpee remained in the hands of the rebels the troops engaged in operations against the insurgents in the Doab, the line of the Ganges, Oudh and Rohilcund, were exposed to attack from the line of the Jumna. "So long as Calpee was rebel, so long the enemy had it in their power to say that the East and West of India might be British but that the pivot of the centre was theirs."[1] To capture the pivot as soon as possible was of vital importance. But Sir Hugh Rose was checked in his advance by lack of food, transport, and ammunition. For nearly three weeks he remained at Jhansi collecting these. He also could not move until he had secured Jhansi from attack by rebels from Kotah, a small Rajput principality of that name in Bundelcund. On hearing that Brigadier Smith's brigade was approaching from Rajputana and that Calpee.

[1] From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding F.D.A. and Field Forces, to Major-General Sir Wm. M. Mansfield, K.C.B., Chief of the Staff of the Army in India, dated Gwalior, 22nd June 1858.

Jhansi was secured from this danger, he sent, about midnight on the 22nd of April, Major Gall, 14th Light Dragoons, with a flying column along the road from Jhansi to Calpee to watch the enemy and obtain information of their movements. Leaving for a garrison at Jhansi part of the 2nd Brigade, Sir Hugh Rose with the 1st Brigade set forth for Calpee on the 25th of April. It was the hottest time of the year. "The country through which we passed was one continuous flat, the wells were almost dry and the water filthy. The heat became more and more oppressive, and the cattle began to emaciate and die."

Sir Hugh Rose sets forth for Calpee, 25th April 1858.

On the 1st of May Sir Hugh Rose found Major Gall's force at Poonth, sixteen miles from Koonch, a large intervening town about forty miles from Calpee. He now learnt that the garrison of Calpee, commanded by the Rao Sahib, a nephew by adoption of the Nana,[1] had been reinforced by five hundred Velaites under the Ranee of Jhansi, guns and troops from disaffected rajahs, cavalry from the Kotah contingent and mutineers of Bengal cavalry. Leaving but a few troops in Calpee, Tantia Topee had marched with the remainder to Koonch, an open town but easy to defend because it was surrounded by woods, gardens, and temples with high walls around them, every one of which was a defence. Tantia had also thrown up entrenchments, which he had armed, to defend the road to the town from Jhansi. Through secret reports from spies he was

Arrives sixteen miles from Koonch, 1st May 1858.

Tantia Topee at Koonch.

[1] He was the adopted son of the second adopted son of the last Peshwa Bajee Rao.

tolerably well informed of the small number of the British force and that the blaze of an Indian sun at its maximum heat was daily diminishing it. He determined to delay its advance by perpetual harassment during the day. Sir Hugh Rose felt that in order to preserve the lives of his men he must not undertake a long operation against Koonch, much less a siege, but by a bold and rapid stroke win a victory.

Movements of the Brigades.

On the evening of the 5th of May, the 2nd Brigade, with the addition of four hundred men of the 71st, joined the camp. Orders were immediately issued for the 1st Brigade (accompanied by the division headquarters) to march for the village of Lahorree, the road to which strikes off to the left and at nearly right angles with the Calpee road.[1] The 2nd Brigade was to march on the direct road to Koonch, and instructions were sent to Major Orr, who was already on the right flank, to close in towards the left and come in touch with the right of the 2nd Brigade, "which he should find resting on the village of Oomree."[2] On the morning of the 6th the 1st Brigade reached Lahorree and halted there to rest during the heat of the day. The General, hearing that a body of

Capture of the Fort of Lahorree.

Velaites held a strong fort of the same name six or seven miles on his left flank, sent Major Gall with a wing of the 3rd Europeans, some artillery and

[1] Letter from an officer in the 1st Brigade, dated Koonch, May 7th.

[2] From Major W. A. Orr, Commanding Field Force, Hyderabad Contingent, serving in Central India, to Colonel Wetherall, C.B., Chief of the Staff, C.I.F.F., 14th May 1858.

dragoons, to attack and take it. But the fort was too strong to batter with field artillery, and the 3rd Europeans prepared to storm while the dragoons formed a ring around it to prevent the escape of the garrison. "The Major wished to lead the men into the fort, but was pulled back by some of the 3rd Regiment, having first received some ugly blows on the head with stones. Upon entering, every male was put to death; one fellow who attempted to effect an escape with his wife, finding it impossible to do so, severed the woman's head at a blow and then cut his own throat. This is desperate work and something more than fighting." In the desperate work two officers and several men wère killed. A soldier named Whirlpool[1] received no less than nineteen wounds. "Take care, lads," he said as they put him into the dhooly, "and don't shake my head, or else it will come off."

The force marches on Koonch. In the evening orders were issued to march on Koonch, about nine miles. "The men were worn out by the heat of the day and many fell out and had to be carried in the dhoolies. An occasional joke passes off among the older campaigners, and the hopes of meeting the foe keep up their flagging

[1] "He had been mentioned in despatches for saving the lives of two comrades who had fallen wounded from the broken ladders at the siege of Jhansi. He himself lived to receive the Victoria Cross and sixpence a day beyond his usual pension. Sir Hugh Rose always thought that the name Whirlpool was assumed, and afterwards learnt that the man was a son of Major Conker, the Postmaster of Dundalk. When the General was in command in Ireland the parents came to thank him for his kindness to their son who was then in New South Wales."—"Clyde and Strathnairn," by Major-General Sir Owen Tudor Burne, K.C.S.I., p. 128.

spirits." At dawn they arrived at a tope near the village of Nagoopura, situated about a mile and a half from Koonch, where they halted and had grog and biscuits and some welcome rest. "The country about was beautiful; a dead level, and every yard turned up for cultivation. The town of Koonch, stretching for about a mile, and nearly hidden by trees, lay on our right, and from the centre rise the ruins of a fort with a flag flying from a height." Sir Hugh Rose's flank movement had been carried out with success. This was his posture on the morning of the 7th. His left, the 1st Brigade, resting its left flank on the village of Nagoopura, was on the north-west side in rear of the fort and town; his centre, the 2nd Brigade under Brigadier Steuart, was in the village of Chomair masking the fortified front on the Jhansi road; his right, Major Orr's force, was in front of the village of Oomree. Sir Hugh Rose, having, as usual, first looked after the comfort of his men, rode across the wide plain to give Steuart and Orr his instructions and to view the ground. On his return he found the enemy had showed in force behind a low wall to our front and in the wood to the left of it. He sent the half-troop of artillery to shell them on the left. The enemy in return shelled the half-troop and siege-guns from a battery to our right. "Two of the guns were turned to the battery and soon silenced it."[1] At this moment

[1] From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, to Major-General Sir William Mansfield, K.C.B., Chief of the Staff, dated Camp, Golowlee, 24th May 1858.

the daring Gall galloped into the wood and swiftly took a survey of the position. He reported that the infantry to the left had retreated farther into the wood, having in their rear a large body of cavalry, that the siege-guns had driven the enemy from the cover of the wall, but that some way in rear of it was posted a large body of infantry. Sir Hugh, according to his habits, instantly determined to drive the mutineers out of the wood, gardens, and temples, and storm the town. He threw the left wing of Her Majesty's 86th Regiment, under Major Stuart, and the whole of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson, into skirmishing order, the 86th on the left, the 25th on the right, their flanks supported by the half-troop Horse Artillery and a troop of Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons with Captain Ommaney's battery and two troops of Her Majesty's 14th Dragoons. The remainder of his force he drew up in a second line in reserve. Scarce was the order to advance given, when the 25th skirmishers dashed into the woods, and, heedless of the fire of musketry and artillery, attacked and cleared the temples and walled gardens. The guns of the Royal Artillery opened fire on the houses of the town in their front and they were soon captured.[1] At the

Sir Hugh Rose determines to storm the town.

The order to advance given.

[1] "I expressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson and the 25th on the ground my approbation of the gallantry with which they had gained their position."—From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, to Major-General Sir William Mansfield, K.C.B., Chief of the Staff, dated Camp, Golowlee, 24th May 1858.

same time the 86th, covered by the three Horse Artillery guns and the troops of the 14th Light Dragoons, making a circuit to their left, took all obstacles to their front "and then bringing their left shoulders forward advanced despite of artillery and musketry fire through the whole north part of the town and took the fort."[1] The enemy, finding their line of defence cut in two and their right completely turned, retired in masses from Koonch to the extensive plains intersected by heavy ploughed land stretching towards Calpee. When the 1st Brigade, on making their way through the narrow and winding streets, emerged from the town, they found a field battery with Captain Thompson's and Gordon's troops, Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, and a troop of the 3rd Regiment Hyderabad Cavalry hotly engaged in attempting to dislodge a larger number of rebel infantry from a strong position in cultivated ground. On seeing the approach of some of the infantry of the 1st Brigade from another direction, the enemy retreated. The cavalry, led by Gordon, went at full speed at them and broke the mass.[2]

Capture of the fort.

When the 1st Brigade came out of the town, the infantry for a short time searched the plains in pursuit of the enemy, but Sir Hugh Rose felt

[1] "The manner in which the 86th, ably led by Major Steuart, [sic] performed this movement, which completed the cutting of the enemy's line in two, adds another claim to the obligation I owe this regiment for their very distinguished conduct on all occasions in the field."—From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, to Major-General Sir William Mansfield, K.C.B., Chief of the Staff, dated Camp, Golowlee, 24th May 1858.

[2] Ibid.

that it would be a "heartless and imprudent sacrifice" of men to continue the pursuit with that arm. The heat was intense, and twelve men of the weak wing of Her Majesty's 71st had died from sunstroke. He therefore halted the infantry of the 1st and 2nd Brigade and Major Orr's force, which had advanced through the wood round the town to the plains, and sent the cavalry of both brigades and of Major Orr's rear force and the Horse Artillery and field guns in pursuit.[1] Slowly the enemy began their retreat across the plain in an irregular long line, five or six deep in some places. The line was "covered by skirmishers at close distances, who at intervals were in groups of small masses, a mode of skirmishing peculiar to Indians; these groups act as a kind of bastion to the line of skirmishers." At every moment the skirmishers halted to rectify their line, two miles long, and to arrest in some degree the pursuit of the cavalry by a well-directed fire. "They fired and retired in perfect order," says an eye-witness, "and, at the first charge of the 14th, coolly knelt down and delivered their fire at two yards. Of course the whole of that line was cut up." But a fresh line took their place. They threw back the extreme right of their skirmishers so as to enfilade

The Cavalry and Horse Artillery sent in pursuit.

[1] "The cavalry of both brigades and of Major Orr's force (except a party which I had left to watch the Jaloun road and my rear), one troop of Horse Artillery, Captain Field's guns and the four guns of the 18th Light Field Battery, went in pursuit."—From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, to Major-General Sir William Mansfield, K.C.B., Chief of the Staff, dated Camp, Golowlee, 24th May 1858.

our line of pursuit. Sir Hugh Rose directed Captain Prettyjohn to charge with his squadron of 14th Light Dragoons and cut off the enfilading skirmishers, and they were completely shattered and separated. In the centre, the artillery continued to advance, notwithstanding the heavy plough, and poured shrapnel upon the retreating line, and Blyth's troops and McMahon's squadron charged and charged its left and right. Blyth, through a heavy fire, fell upon a gun and captured it from the retreating foe, and Abbott, commanding the 3rd Regiment Hyderabad Cavalry, did the same. A heavy plough checked the pace of the squadron. "But the heavy ground was not broad, the squadron got through it, Captain McMahon leading the way, and cut to pieces the enemy who fought fiercely to the last. Captain McMahon received three sabre wounds, but he continued the pursuit to the last."

For eight miles the skirmishers fought their pursuers. Then, the majority of them being killed, the remainder driven in, and their artillery captured, the main body got into confusion, lost their nerve and crowded into the road to Calpee, a long and helpless column of runaways. The scorching rays of the sun told even on them, "several fell dead on the road, struck by apoplexy, many exhausted threw away their arms, whilst others to quench their thirst rushed to the wells regardless if our cavalry were upon them." But sun, fatigue, and scarcity of water told still more on their pursuers. "The Horse Artillery and cavalry were

now so beat by sun and fatigue that they were reduced to a walk; the guns were only able to rake the column in its depth with round shot and shell, but could not approach sufficiently close to give it grape." On arriving at the village where the enemy had broken into scattered flight across the country, the commanding officers informed the General that they were no longer able to pursue. He halted, and having watered the horses as well as he could, marched them back at sunset to Koonch. They had been in the saddle sixteen hours. The sun had made the greatest havoc amongst them that day. "While the action was going on dhooly after dhooly was brought into the field hospital with officers and men suffering from sunstroke, some dead, others prostrated, laughing and sobbing in weak delirium." Three days after the action Sir Hugh Rose wrote, "We should have destroyed the enemy, had not the dreadful heat paralysed the men. Eleven poor fellows were killed outright by the sun and many more were struck down. I was obliged four times to get off my horse from excessive debility. The doctor poured cold water over me and gave me restoratives which enabled me to go on again. I do not think I shall stay in India to pass such another torment as 110° in the shade. I have succeeded militarily better than I could have expected, and that is all I wanted."

Sir Hugh Rose's march from

Immediately after his successful action Sir Hugh Rose marched from Koonch with the 1st Brigade. On account of the scarcity of water and forage on

Koonch to Calpee.

the line of march he had to leave behind the 2nd Brigade, directing them to follow at one day's interval. But a storm of rain having rendered the tents too heavy for transport, the brigade was delayed three days at Koonch. Delay was, however, fatal to Sir Hugh Rose's tactical plans. His attention was fixed on Calpee, but before Calpee could be attacked he had to effect a communication with Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell who had been detached with the 88th Foot,[1] some Sikhs, and the Camel Corps to co-operate with him against Calpee from the left bank of the Jumna. From Maxwell he was to receive a supply of ammunition to make good the large amount which his force had expended in the sieges of Chirkaree and Jhansi. He wrote to Colonel Maxwell that he would be on the Jumna a few miles below Calpee on the 14th of May. Having heard that the enemy had constructed elaborate lines of defence for the protection of Calpee, on the main road from Koonch to that fortress, he determined to turn them by breaking off to the right from the highroad and to march to the village of Golowlee on the Jumna about six miles below Calpee. To mislead the enemy and mask this movement, he directed the 2nd Brigade to close up to the town of Oraye from Koonch, and, following the highroad to Calpee, take up a position at the village of Banda. "This plan was foiled by the brigade losing its way and, instead of going to Banda, making a double march, and following me to Sucalee."

[1] 2nd Connaught Rangers.

During this protracted march of twenty miles, man after man went down, smitten by the hot winds which blew across the dazzling white plains, hard as flint. "We went on, a fearful hot wind blowing behind us all the time," says one who was present, "without being able to procure a drop of water, until the men began to cry out and our dogs to drop down dead. As we passed along we saw several camels, bullocks, and tattooes[1] which had fallen dead from the heat, but *there was no decomposition going on.* They seemed to be drying up like mummies in this intensely powerful sun! It was almost too much to endure, and as we marched on one felt obliged to gallop from bush to bush to gain a moment's shade, for one's mouth was parched, and one's head began to feel like a ball of fire, while rings of light danced before one's eyes." It was near two o'clock before the wretched march came to an end and a crowd of invalids reached Sucalee. Brigadier Steuart and the whole of his staff formed part of the sick list.

Above all things it was necessary that Sir Hugh Rose should reach the Jumna on the 14th, as he had told Maxwell he would do. But the powers of movement of the 2nd Brigade were reduced to the lowest point. He could not push forward with vigour and leave it any distance behind, for it was weak, and the enemy had concentrated all their cavalry, with infantry and guns from their bivouacs, in the villages around Calpee for the purpose of unceasingly harassing his force. They knew full

[1] Tattoo—a pony.

well how the sun and scarcity of water had told upon the Europeans, and it was part of their tactics to force them to be exposed at the hottest time of the day. A general order, issued by the rebel commander, stated that "as the European infidels either died or had to go into hospital from fighting in the sun, they were never to be attacked before ten o'clock in the day in order that they might feel its force." But these were not the only sources of trouble to the General. He now learnt that the Nawab of Banda had joined the rebels at Calpee, after being defeated by Whitlock, with an efficient body of cavalry—the remnants of our mutinous regiments and some infantry and artillery also well trained.

Learns that the Nawab of Banda had joined the rebels at Calpee.

On the 15th of March, General Whitlock was informed by the Military Secretary to the Government of India that it is of urgent importance that support should be given to the loyal Chiefs of Bundelcund as soon as possible. But Whitlock was a man of extreme caution, and his movements were slow. Setting out on the 22nd of March, he did not arrive before the town of Banda till the 19th of the following month. The Nawab had selected a spot in every respect well adapted to defend his capital. "His artillery commanded the main road on which my force was moving, enabling him to withdraw his guns if hard pressed. Broken ground with numerous ravines and nullahs covered his whole front, affording excellent cover to a swarm of skirmishers, who not only knew their value, but most skilfully availed themselves of

Capture of the town of Banda by General Whitlock.

them, while every desired movement on my part on the enemy's flanks was impeded by ground most difficult for the combined operation of artillery and cavalry." The British force amounted to about nineteen hundred.[1] The enemy, commanded by the Nawab in person, were nine thousand in number, principally composed of mutineers of the three arms. On approaching within six hundred yards of the enemy's position, Colonel Apthorp, who commanded the advance-guard, consisting of three companies 3rd Madras European Regiment, two guns of Major Mein's European troop of Horse Artillery, 1 squadron of Hyderabad Cavalry under Captain Macintire, a few of the 12th Lancers, and a detachment 1st Madras Native Infantry, formed up his troops into line. Macintire's squadron was placed on the right. After the skirmishers had gone forward a short distance, Apthorp discovered that one or two of the enemy's guns were posted so as to enfilade the infantry as they advanced. He therefore ordered Macintire to charge the guns, "and no men ever charged more nobly than the

[1]

A Troop, Horse Artillery, European	110
E " " " Native	116
Her Majesty's 12th Lancers	227
1 Squadron Hyderabad Cavalry	136
Detachment Royal Artillery	111
Detachment Madras Foot Artillery	75
No. 1 Horse Battery	84
Detachment Sappers and Miners	101
3rd Madras European Regiment	518
1st Regiment Native Infantry	255
Detachment 50th Native Infantry	166
Total of all arms	1899

squadron of the 2nd Hyderabad Contingent Cavalry under their gallant leader Captain Macintire; one gun was captured, the other in the *mêlée* escaped for a time, but the object was effected. The infantry advanced with comparatively small loss, but every nullah was filled with the enemy's infantry who made stiff dispute, and there was many a hand-to-hand conflict in the ravines," where the bayonet did great execution. The advanced guard was hardly pressed when the main body came up, and by a flanking fire from the left soon relieved them. The enemy slowly fell back, "occupying every available ground for opposition, and our guns were in constant employment to dislodge them." Four hours passed before the Nawab fled, leaving on the field eight thousand of his men, and the firing ceased. The victors took possession of the town and palace and thirteen large guns, besides several of small calibre. A large quantity of ammunition and much valuable property belonging to the Nawab fell into their hands. General Whitlock took up his quarters at Banda, intending to wait there until the arrival of reinforcements should enable him to march towards Calpee to co-operate with Sir Hugh Rose. But the reinforcements did not arrive until the 27th May, and by that time Calpee had been captured.

Sir Hugh Rose with the 1st Brigade encamps at Golowlee on the Jumna.

In order to give rest to the 2nd Brigade at Sucalee, Sir Hugh Rose delayed one day at the village of Etowa, a march in advance. He sent his own carriage to the sick for their assistance, and called off the attention of the enemy from

them by a diversion in an opposite direction. On the night of the 14th, the 2nd Brigade, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, 71st Highlanders, who had succeeded Brigadier Steuart, joined the 1st without molestation. A few hours afterwards Sir Hugh Rose marched with the 1st Brigade and Major Orr's force for Golowlee. "After our arrival in camp the cavalry of the enemy came down in force upon the baggage and rear-guard. Several men of the 25th Native Infantry were killed and others wounded, and the enemy were driven off with loss." In the onslaught they were heard to say, "You have looted Jhansi, and now you are come to loot Calpee, are you?" On reaching Golowlee, Sir Hugh Rose sent two of the Hyderabad Cavalry across the Jumna to Maxwell, who was about thirty miles off on the other side of it, requesting him to move up to the river without delay. Two pontoon rafts, brought with great difficulty from Poona, some eighteen hundred miles away, were floated by sunset on the Jumna, and the junction with the Bengal army effected.

The junction with the Bengal force effected.

"One of the most important of my instructions was now carried out. My force had marched from Bombay to the Jumna, and had effected an union with the Bengal army, the immediate result of which was a combined operation of Bengal and Bombay troops against Calpee."

CHAPTER VIII.

Nature of the country around Calpee.

CALPEE stands on a high bald rock rising from the Jumna, and is a natural fortress. The only avenue by which the British could approach it from their camp on the Jumna was barred by a labyrinth of deep rocky ravines, every yard of them affording a dangerous obstacle or an ambush. To the south its front was covered by huge tombs, built, as well as the walls round them, of solid masonry, and capable of affording shelter to large masses of troops. There was no cover by which they could be approached. Save for a few tamarind trees and bushes the country around was a sterile desert blighted by the fierce sun. At the foot of the fort was the town, also forming a formidable line of defence. The garrison consisted of the Gwalior Contingent, the best drilled and the best organised Native troops of all arms in India, mutinous Bengal regiments also well drilled, rebel cavalry from Kotah, a chosen band of fanatical Afghans, and the force of all arms of the Nawab of Banda. To take Calpee by a protracted operation was out of the question. "The prostration of the whole force had become a matter of arithmetical calculation. So many hours' sun laid low so many men." Sir Hugh Rose determined to beat the rebel army in one decisive action. "When I came near Cal-

pee," he wrote, "I found that it was surrounded by a belt of ravines about two miles in breadth, as difficult ground as could be seen, and that to attack the fort I must force the ravines, of which the enemy had entrenched the entrance, and afterwards the town which surrounded the fort. I always thought and hoped that I should have one good fight with the rebels for Calpee, and that, if they lost it, they would evacuate the town and fort."

The 2nd Brigade reaches the village of Diapoora, 16th May 1858.

On the morning of the 16th, the advanced guard and the centre of the 2nd Brigade reached the village of Diapoora without opposition, but the rear-guard, under Major Forbes, was vigorously attacked by about 1000 or 1200 cavalry, besides a large body of infantry. Forbes, aided by Orr, after a stiff fight repulsed them, and brought safely the long and helpless line of baggage over difficult ground to the camp at Diapoora. Sir Hugh Rose, on hearing that Forbes was hard pressed, marched a body of troops to his assistance, and on reaching the camp the 2nd Brigade found that the enemy had attacked in force a village, the possession of which by them would have rendered the camp untenable. The Officer Commanding in the village had felt himself so hard pressed that he had given orders for evacuating it. The enemy were pressing forward. Sir Hugh Rose immediately commanded the troops who were retiring to reoccupy the village and hold it at any price, and he sent the detachment he had brought with him to their support. Captain Lightfoot of the Bengal Horse

The enemy attack the 2nd Brigade and are repulsed.

Artillery placed his artillery skilfully on the left of the village, and the accurate fire of the shrapnel and round shot broke the Rebel Cavalry and drove them from their position in support of the infantry, who still held the deep and twisting ravines in front of the village. Sir Hugh Rose directed Captain Douglas, Commanding Artillery, Hyderabad Contingent, to post four 6-pounders on the right of the hamlet and burst shrapnel over the heads of the concealed foe. "This he did with his usual skill and devotion, under a heavy fire of the enemy's riflemen, so effectually that the rebels, who were also suffering from the admirable fire of the 71st, retired from their ambuscades." Sir Hugh Rose did not pursue. The ground was difficult, and the greater part of his men had been marching all night and engaged all day in fearful heat. "My game was a waiting one, and I abstained carefully from playing that of my adversary, which was to disorganise and prostrate my force by continued exposure to sun. I never yielded an inch to the enemy's attacks; but on the other hand, husbanded the strength and health of my men for one great combat for Calpee. As it was, the intense heat made havoc amongst my troops, officers as well as men. Upwards of 200 out of less than 400 men of the Bombay Native Infantry fell out of the ranks on the line of march, struck by the sun."

On the 17th instant, after noon, the enemy again attacked the 2nd Brigade at Diapoora and was repulsed. The same day Colonel Maxwell, leaving his column to take up their position opposite

Calpee, arrived at Golowlee, and Sir Hugh Rose communicated to him his plan of attack and gave him the requisite directions. Maxwell was to construct, on the other bank of the Jumna, Mortar Batteries, one to shell the fort of Calpee and destroy its defences facing the British position, another to shell the part of the town facing the same way, and a third to be placed lower down the Jumna and opposite the village of Rehree, which stands on the edge of a small sandy plain situated between the belt of ravines and Calpee. Here the enemy had a force and battery which would awaken on the right column of attack when it debouched from the ravines. With the right (the 1st Brigade) Sir Hugh Rose intended to attack Calpee, whilst with his left (the 2nd Brigade) he intended to make a strong feint, to be converted into a real attack if feasible. Orr's force at the village of Tehree in the right centre was to keep up the communication between the two Brigades and assist both as required—a skilful plan, but fresh and growing difficulties caused it to be altered. The wells in Diapoora began to fail. Troop horses and baggage animals died of drought. The 2nd Brigade, daily diminishing in numbers owing to sickness, was exposed to constant attack, and, on the morning of the 19th, these troops and the Hyderabad Field Force were removed to the camp on the Jumna. The enemy continued their tactics of harassing unceasingly the British troops and forcing them into the fierce sun, which struck them down. "Out of the 36 men of the 14th Light Dragoons, forming part of

Sir Hugh Rose's plan of attack.

our forage escort, seventeen were brought back to camp in dhoolies after only two hours' exposure to the sun." The hospital tents, where the temperature ranged from 109° to 117°, and seldom fell under 100° at night, were crowded. On the 19th of May, Dr Arnott, Superintendent Surgeon, wrote in an official letter: "To illustrate better the state of health of all ranks, I may mention that we have now 310 Europeans in hospital, having lost in the week 21 by sunstroke; and there is scarcely an officer on the staff fit for duty. The Quartermaster-General, Clergyman, the Adjutant-General, the Commissariat Officer, the Baggage Master, the Brigade Major and Brigadier of the 2nd Brigade are all sick. . . . Thus paralysed as the force already is, and with the rest enfeebled and worn out by this long and arduous campaign, I cannot refrain from mentioning my apprehensions that, should the operations before Calpee be protracted and the exposure great, the force will be completely prostrated." But his labours, hardships and privations, which had been incessant and severe, did not diminish the determination of the British soldier to fight.

At 3 A.M. on the 20th, Sir Hugh Rose crossed the river to select the sites for Maxwell's Mortar Batteries and to direct his attack on the city and fort. Sir Hugh Rose had hardly returned to camp when the enemy attacked with considerable determination the right flank, but as he had fixed the 23rd for the attack on Calpee, he refused to be drawn into a general action. He directed the

The enemy attack the right flank.

pickets merely to maintain their ground, "which they did steadily and gallantly, under the able command of Major Stuart, Her Majesty's 86th Regiment, until the enemy were beat back." On the night of the 20th, reinforcements, which Sir Hugh Rose ordered Maxwell to send across the Jumna, reached his camp. "They consisted of two companies Her Majesty's 88th Regiment, some riflemen mounted on camels with Sikh drivers, and two companies of Sikh Infantry—fine soldier-like looking fellows, and sensibly dressed, not imprisoned in British uniform."[1] On the 21st, Maxwell erected his Mortar Batteries opposite the village of Rehree and the town of Calpee. That day Sir Hugh Rose heard from his spies that the enemy intended to make a general attack on his position the next day. They had sworn to drive his force into the Jumna or to die.

The disposition of the British force.

The British force lay in the ground between the road from Calpee to Banda and the Jumna, the left nearly touching the Banda road and the right resting on the ravines running down to the Jumna. In these stood the villages of Soorowlee and Golowlee, which were connected and held by strong pickets. On the morning of the 22nd, Brigadier

[1] "Recollections of the Campaign in Malwa and Central India," by John Henry Sylvester, p. 153.

"I sent across the Jumna on the night of the 20th two Companies of the 88th, the whole of the Camel Corps, and 124 of the Sikh Infantry."—From Lieutenant-Colonel G. V. Maxwell, C.B., Her Majesty's 88th Regiment, Commanding Movable Column, Cawnpore District, to Colonel E. R. Wetherall, C.B., Chief of the Staff, Central India Field Force, dated Camp before Calpee, 24th May 1858. Colonel Maxwell gives the strength of the Camel Corps at 682.

Stuart, in compliance with instructions from the Major-General commanding, proceeded to the Mortar Battery in front of our camp on the right. The picket at the Battery, consisting of one company of the 3rd European Regiment, also the picket on the bank of the Jumna, composed of one company of Her Majesty's 86th, which guarded our extreme left flank, were reinforced by nearly the whole of Her Majesty's 86th Regiment, which, thrown into skirmishing order, covered almost the whole of our position to the right. In support were three guns of No. 4 Light Field Battery, one troop of Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, a troop of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, and four companies of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry. On the Brigadier's left, the pickets of the right centre were supported by the other half of No. 4 Light Field Battery, the remainder of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry with the 21st Company Royal Engineers, the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson of the 25th Bengal Native Infantry. In the centre were the Siege Guns, two 18-pounders, one 24-pounder, and two 8-inch howitzers with the Madras Sappers under Lieutenant Gordon, supported by the wing of Her Majesty's 71st, one squadron of the 14th, a troop of the 3rd Light Cavalry, and Captain Field's Royal Artillery 9-pounders. To the left of the centre, facing the plain and the village of Tehree, was posted No. 1 Troop Bombay Horse Artillery supported by two troops of the 14th. Beyond these were placed the Camel Corps and No. 18 Light

Field Battery, supported by a detachment of the Sikh Corps, the Hyderabad Field Force covering the extreme left.

The battle of Calpee, 23rd May 1858.

Shortly after 8 A.M., Sir Hugh Rose was informed by his videttes and outposts that the enemy were advancing in great force from Calpee and its environs towards the belt of ravines on the right, and along the Banda-Calpee road against the left. He commanded half of No. 4 Light Field Battery to move down to the Mortar Battery, and fire was immediately opened on the enemy, who were advancing in great numbers and with much spirit over ground most favourable to them. As Sir Hugh Rose was posting his siege guns, a message reached him from Brigadier Stuart that the right was no longer threatened. The attack on the left was now in full force, but Sir Hugh did not take away a man from the right. He had the power of foreseeing, which enables the born commander to discover the plans of his foe. He felt that the enemy hoped, by arousing his anxiety for his left and centre, to induce him to impoverish his right. The stillness in the ravines was to him ominous, and he became convinced that in them the enemy lay concealed. He ordered a company of the 3rd Europeans to be pushed some hundred yards forward "into the network of ambushes." In a few moments the 3rd Europeans started the rebel host from their lair. From the deadly ravine labyrinths there arose a curtain of fire and smoke, and the battle waged from the Jumna to the village of Tehree. From the left of the village Hugh Rose

The enemy attack the British left.

watched the determined attack made on his centre. He could meet it. He watched the enemy's movement on his left. It was intact. It was his right wing which caused him anxiety. The fire in that quarter grew slacker, and he sent a messenger to Brigadier Stuart to ask him if he would like to be reinforced by half the Camel Corps. The messenger returned to tell him that the Brigadier would be very glad to have them. At this moment Brigadier Stuart's fire became fainter and fainter, that of the enemy heavier. Hugh Rose knew what that meant; his right, the key of his whole position, was in danger. He must deal with the affair himself, and he rode at once to its assistance, "with the whole of the Camel Corps at its best pace." On the way, he met an orderly coming to him at full speed from Brigadier Stuart. He was charged to say that the Brigadier wanted further reinforcements. "I knew that they were required, for the enemy's fire now came from within our position."[1] On reaching the foot of the rising ground on which the Mortar Battery and three guns had been placed, the British soldiers dismounted from their camels, and, led by Sir Hugh Rose and their Commander, Major Ross, they "went up the rise in line at the double in perfect order." Volleys of musketry came over the crest and killed or wounded every horse of the Chief's Staff except one. On they went. The top was reached. A strange, appalling sight burst

Determined attack made on British centre.

The British right in imminent danger.

[1] From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding F.D.A. and Field Force, to Major-General Sir Wm. M. Mansfield, K.C.B., Chief of the Staff of the Army in India, dated Gwalior, 22nd June 1858.

upon them. The enemy, wild with opium and fury, were advancing in great numbers across a small piece of level ground against the Mortar Battery and the Field Guns. The seething mass poured in volley after volley as they approached, with loud yells of triumph, closer and closer to the guns. The English force could not reply. The Enfield rifles had become leaded. The slender chain of skirmishers, weakened by many having been struck down to the ground by sunstroke where they lay, had been pressed back by the superior weight of numbers. The guns had ceased firing. The Brigadier was on foot, bidding the gunners to draw their swords and defend them with their lives. Hugh Rose saw that the position was critical, almost desperate, but nothing could daunt his fiery courage. Without allowing his men to draw breath, he ordered the Rifles and the 86th to charge with their bayonets. The soldiers gave "one of those cheers which all the world over has been the herald of British successes," and, headed by their Chief and Major Ross, they at once charged down the steep, and attacked the dense lines of the mutineers, ten times superior to them in numbers. The rebels wavered, turned, and fled, and were pursued by the British soldiers up and down the steep sides of the rocky ravines.[1]

The charge of the Rifles and the 86th.

[1] "The very important service rendered on this occasion by Major Ross, Commanding the Camel Corps, requires that I should make special mention of the ability and resolute gallantry with which he led his brave corps. This very promising officer is perfectly qualified to turn to the best account all the vast advantages of fleet or mounted infantry."—From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Gwalior, 22nd June 1858.

At the same time as they made their determined attack on the right, the rebels, with equal vigour, attacked the right centre and the left centre. The right centre was guarded by four companies of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, who, after a most brave resistance, were forced back by the enemy's masses. At this moment Lieutenant Edwards, commanding the 21st company of Royal Engineers, which had been moved in support of the 25th, charged with his small body, routed the foe, and pressed the pursuit till they were out of reach.[1] On the left centre the enemy advanced firing heavily. When they approached close to the remainder of the 25th which guarded it, they taunted them in the most foul language for their allegiance. The 25th answered the malediction of the mutineers in a manner worthy of their reputation and English discipline—a volley, a cheer, and a charge of the bayonet. The enemy, after a short tussle, retreated. The 25th dashed through the ravines after them, came up with the rear near the village of Tehree, bayoneted them, and continued the pursuit beyond the village.[2] The whole of the infantry on the left, covered by Captain Lightfoot's troop of Horse

The enemy attack the right centre and the left centre.

Their retreat.

[1] "I beg to mention, specially, Lieutenant Edwards for his prompt resolution on this occasion; he is an enterprising and promising officer. The 21st Comp. fight as well in the field as they work in the trenches, and are worthy of their distinguished corps."—From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, dated Gwalior, 23rd June 1858.

[2] "Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson, of whose gallantry and ability I have had so many proofs, and his devoted regiment, whose loyalty and discipline have so often conquered treason and insubordination, deserve to be specially mentioned for their distinguished conduct on this occasion."—Ibid.

Artillery, three guns of the Light Field Battery, and the whole of the cavalry, made a converging attack on the enemy's right and the village of Tehree. They drove the rebels into it, through it, and over the plain towards the Calpee road. The enemy's retreat had spread from right to left over the entire line of battle. On the extreme right, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowth, with a few of the 86th and a company of the Rifles, moved forward through the ravines, and by a skilful manœuvre cut off and surrounded a large body of the enemy. "Part were killed on the bank of the Jumna, the rest were driven into the river, where they were shot or drowned." [1] On the left, the enemy's retreat became more and more a flight. Their infantry, cavalry, and guns, all mingled together, rushed over the heights, up and down the ravines, and along the highroad to Calpee, closely followed by our cavalry and artillery. The pursuit lasted until horse and man could go no further and do no more. The majority of the rebels made their way towards Jaloun. Calpee afforded them no safe shelter, for Maxwell's guns were pouring into it a stream of shot and shell.

The sweltering sun was sinking low when the fight, which was desperately maintained at every

[1] "I beg to mention specially Lieutenant-Colonel Lowth for the good service he did on this occasion: he is a good and gallant officer, who always leads his regiment to success. He is well seconded by his admirable soldiers, whom I cannot eulogise more highly than by saying that they do credit to Ireland."—From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Commanding Central India Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Gwalior, 22nd June 1858.

point throughout the day, came to a close, and victory was secure. The plan of the enemy was well conceived, and carried out with considerable energy of attack. Its failure was due to the pluck and discipline of the British soldier, the courage and loyalty of the Bombay sepoy, and the intrepid genius of their commander. Never was the iron endurance of the British soldier more severely tested. All that summer day, beneath a burning sun, parched by suffocating hot winds, he fought without food or water. "Officers and men dropped down as though struck by lightning, in the delirium of a sunstroke, yet all this was endured without a murmur, and in the cool of the evening we were speculating upon the capture of Calpee on the morrow." But the hard-fought fight of the day had given us Calpee. The enemy began to evacuate the place during the night, and it was, next morning, occupied without further fighting. Fifty-eight guns taken in the field or the fort; twenty-seven silk embroidered standards, and, what was of more importance, immense stores of ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors. Outside the town in the shady park land surrounding the tombs, the British pitched their camp. "Early on the morrow the troops paraded, and a royal salute was fired, for it was the 24th of May—our Queen's birthday—and the troops rejoiced in the prospect of going into quarters and the sick and wounded of going home." On the 24th of May Lord Canning telegraphed to Sir Hugh Rose: "Your capture of Calpee has crowned a series of brilliant and un-

The enemy evacuate Calpee.

Lord Canning's telegram.

interrupted successes. I thank you and your brave soldiers with all my heart."[1]

The capture of Calpee completes the plan of campaign.

The capture of Calpee completed the plan which the Government of India had drawn up for the Central India Field Force. Instructions had been conveyed to Sir Hugh Rose that, after its capture, the Force should be broken up, and part of it should be sent to Gwalior and the rest to Jhansi, as garrisons for those places. He had submitted to the Governor-General the distribution of troops for these two services and proceeded at once to make the necessary arrangements for their transfer. He himself was strongly advised by his medical officer to return at once to Bombay. He had had three attacks of sun during the assault and capture of Koonch, a fourth in an intermediate reconnaissance, and a fifth in the general action of the Jumna on the 22nd of May.[2] The powerful remedies administered to enable him to rise again, ride, and retain his command in the field, "which I never left," and the duties of the command, which had

1 "It is impossible to record the numerous individual acts of gallantry displayed that day when but one spirit animated the whole line—how the Brigadier prepared to die at his guns rather than yield an inch, how the natives of the force withstood the taunts and gibes hurled at them by their own kith and kin for their adherence to the British cause; but half this credit may be fairly given to their officers and Commandant, Colonel Robertson, Captain Lightfoot, and Lieutenant Strutt, who shed lustre on the Bombay Artillery; and the casualties among the horses ridden by them showed they had not spared themselves."—"Recollections of the Campaign in Malwa and Central India," by Assistant-Surgeon John Sylvester, p. 157.

2 During the day our gallant General, again almost beaten by the sun, would not return to camp, but sought the shelter of a tree to recover sufficiently to proceed with his anxious work.—Ibid., p. 163.

daily become more onerous owing to the sickness of his staff, had depressed his vital energies. A competent witness wrote: "The General was very ill; his Chief of the Staff, General Wetherall, was in raging fever; his Quartermaster-General, Captain Macdonald, worn out; the Chaplain of the Force had lost his reason, and was apparently sinking fast."[1] Sir Hugh, having carried out his instructions, now followed the urgent advice of his physician; he resigned his command, and applied for leave on medical certificate. On the 1st of June he issued his farewell order, and in glowing phrase addressed the men whom he had led to victory upon victory—

Sir Hugh Rose resigns his command.

"The Central India Field Force being about to be dissolved, the Major-General cannot allow the troops to leave the immediate command without expressing to them the gratification he has invariably experienced at their good conduct and discipline, and he requests that the following general order may be read at the head of every corps and detachment of the force:—

His farewell order.

'Soldiers! You have marched more than a thousand miles, and taken more than a hundred guns; you have forced your way through mountain passes and intricate jungles, and over rivers; you have captured the strongest forts, and beat the enemy, no matter what the odds, wherever you met him; you have restored extensive districts to the Government, and peace and order now reign where before, for twelve months, were

[1] "Central India," by Thomas Lowe, p. 297.

tyranny and rebellion; you have done all this, and you have never had a check.

'I thank you with all sincerity for your bravery, your devotion, and your discipline.

'When you first marched I told you that you, as British soldiers, had more than enough of courage for the work which was before you, but that courage without discipline was of no avail, and I exhorted you to let discipline be your watch-word; you have attended to my orders—in hard-ships, in temptations, and in dangers you have obeyed your General, and you never left your ranks.

'You have fought against the strong, and you have protected the rights of the weak and de-fenceless, of foes as well as of friends; I have seen you in the ardour of the combat preserve and place children out of harm's way.

'This is the discipline of Christian soldiers, and this it is which has brought you triumphant from the shores of Western India to the waters of the Jumna, and establishes, without doubt, that you will find no place to equal the glory of our arms.'"

Tantia Topee, after his defeat at Koonch, proceeds to Gwalior.

After the defeat at Koonch, Tantia Topee went straight to Gwalior and concealed himself in the bazaar. It is the difficulty of ascertaining facts which is the greatest obstacle to the governing of an Oriental state. Neither Scindia nor Dunker Rao, nor the two chief officers of the army, knew anything of the visit of Tantia Topee. Tantia had been to Gwalior in September 1857 to gain the

Contingent to the Nana and move it upon Cawnpore. He succeeded. The main body of the Contingent left Gwalior and, reinforced by rebels from Banda and from Oudh, they pressed General Windham's force into their entrenchments at Cawnpore and occupied most of the city until they were routed by the force under Sir Colin Campbell on the 6th of December.[1] Tantia, who commanded the rebels, fell back with the remnant of his force on Calpee, where he was joined by many mutineers. He did not venture again to cross the Jumna, but he was always on the watch. His great aim was not to fight Sir Colin Campbell, but to make a dash for the south—to raise a revolt in the Deccan and establish once again the power of the Peshwa. Scindia, influenced by Dunker Rao, was the main obstacle to the realisation of the plan. His chief agent declared, "Scindia being one with the English, does not regard the Peshwa. His Raj is great. Seeing his course, all the Rajahs, great and small, are cowed and side with the English. On account of him we have been unable to get an opportunity. Wherefore we must gain his troops, and get him into our hands when the Peshwa shall rule." Tantia was secretly plotting in the bazaar at Gwalior to get possession of Scindia when news reached him that Jhansi, their last great stronghold south of the Jumna, had fallen into the hands of the English, and that the Rao and the Ranee had fled in wild haste to a village

1 "Selections from State Papers, Military Department, Volume Lucknow and Cawnpore," Introduction, pp. 340, 344.

fifteen miles from Gwalior, where his own family lay. On the 26th of May, Tantia, unaccompanied by any followers, left Gwalior and joined the Rao, the Ranee, and the Nawab of Banda. The next day a council was held to determine their future course. The Ranee was there, but not the Nawab of Banda. A sepoy from each company was present. "The Rao," says his Secretary, who was present and afterwards turned informer, "asked of the council, whither shall we go?" The Ranee demanded that they should move straight to Kurara in Jhansi. Tantia Topee said "that even Bundelcund would be better." The Rao said, "There we should find the Boondelas hostile and no supplies. Our only course is to make for the Deccan, where all will join us. But we must go first to Gwalior, where the army is gained, and take it with us by the Sipree road. When that army shall come over, the Maharajah and the Baiza Baee will join us, and all the Princes of Hindostan will rise."[1] The sepoys however desired strongly to retire to Oudh. The council broke up without anything being settled. That night, however, an order was issued to march next morning across Scindia's frontier, the Scinde river.

Tantia joins the Rao, the Ranee, and the Nawab of Banda, 26th May 1858.

On the 28th of May the rebel force entered Gwalior territory and halted at Amean, where

[1] The grandmother of Scindia by adoption, known by her title of the Baiza Baee, was a person of considerable ability and influence in the Gwalior State.

Report on the Affairs of Gwalior, from the 24th of May to the 20th of June 1858, by Major S. Charters Macpherson, Political Agent.

they found posted 400 Scindian Foot, 150 horse, and 4 guns. Scindia's Chief Political Officer told the Rao, "It is the order of the Maharajah and the Dewan that you retire." "And who," replied the Rao, "are you? A ten rupee underling of a Soobah drunk with bhang? And who are the Maharajah and Dunkur Rao? Christians? We are the Rao and Peshwa. Scindia is our slipper-bearer.[1] We gave him his kingdom. His army has joined us. We have letters from the Baiza Baee. Scindia himself encourages us. Tantia Topee has visited Gwalior and ascertained all. He having completed everything, I am for the Lushkur. Would you fight for us? All is mine!"[2] Scindia's detachment did not attempt resistance. The next day the Rao continued his march, and on the 31st he encamped at Burragon, within eight miles of Gwalior.

The rebel force enter Gwalior, 28th May 1858.

A thorny and difficult task had confronted Scindia after the mutiny of the Contingent on the 14th of June 1857. The men of the Contingent were not his troops, though he paid for them. They now demanded that he should enrol them and lead them against Agra. They would make Agra over to him, with such Provinces as he desired, then move on to Delhi. But

Scindia's difficult task after the mutiny of the Contingent, 14th June 1857.

[1] Ranajee, the first member of the Scindia family of note, commenced his career as the carrier of the slippers of Balajee Rao Peishwa. His care in the performance of this menial duty attracted his master's attention, who appointed him to a command in the Pagah or stable horse. From this his rise to the first rank of Mahratta Chiefs was rapid.

[2] Report on the Affairs of Gwalior from the 24th of May to the 20th of June 1858, by Major S. Charters Macpherson, Political Agent.

Scindia had no desire that the Moghul Emperor should overshadow the Mahratta Princes, and he relied on the strength and generosity of the British Government to uphold and reward him for his loyalty. The mutineers proposed, as an alternative, that he should hand over to them the 4½ lacs which the Resident had left in his charge; that he should give them 12 or 15 lacs more and provide them with supplies and carriage to move. "If he declined either alternative they would bombard and plunder his palace and city, empty his treasury, seize his fort, and place himself in confinement or at their head." But Scindia had the courage of a soldier and the pride of a king. Threats did not shake his resolution. Policy, however, demanded that he should send them no definite answer. To prevent them from moving at once on Agra, he gave them a donation of three months' pay and the promise of service, "which," he wrote, "I was obliged to give them instead of a destructive volley." Scindia's greatest apprehension was lest his troops, 10,000 in number, should coalesce with the Contingent. They now clamoured loudly for the donation given to the rebels. He appeased them by fair promises. And so the game went on. The mutineers menaced, besought, dictated, wheedled, and insulted Scindia. He confronted, defied, flattered, and deceived them: and the political resources of an Oriental monarch are very great. He bribed their officers, their priests, and every man who

Threats do not shake his resolution.

could sow discord among them. "He ordered the removal of the wheels of carts within the range of the rebels, and sent all elephants and camels to distant jungles. He maintained that field operations were folly in the monsoon. After it, his course and that of all would be clear."[1]

News now began to reach Gwalior of Havelock's victories. One day there returned to the city the small remains of a wing of the 6th Contingent of infantry, who had joined the Nana. Their comrades had been left on the field of battle. They declared it was madness to face the Europeans. Scindia's belief in the foresight of Dunker Rao and the Resident, and in the wisdom of the line which he was following according to their advice, was strengthened. Dangers and perplexities, however, thickened about him. On the last day of July there arrived at Gwalior the rebel force from Mhow and Indore, who were on their way to Agra. "It excited the Contingent afresh," said the Dewan, "like oil thrown on the fire." The force comprised not only the mutinous regiments from those stations, but 600 men of Holkar's army, with seven guns and 1000 Ghazees, led by a person styling himself Feroze Shah, Prince of Delhi, and also the 5th Contingent Infantry Regiment, which had mutinied at Augur[2] and

The rebel force from Mhow arrive at Gwalior, 31st July 1857.

[1] Report on Gwalior, dated 10th of February 1858.

[2] Augur is a large town in the dominions of Scindia, about thirty-six miles from Oojein.

The 5th Contingent Infantry mutinied about the 5th of July, and killed one officer.

joined it on the march. The Contingent and Scindia's own troops demanded that they should move with the Mhow and Indore rebels on to Agra. Scindia told the Contingent that he could only communicate his plan to them after the Mhow and Indore mutineers had left. He knew it was no longer possible to retain them, and he hoped they would take with them the most mutinous and fanatical of the Contingent and his own soldiery.

On the 5th of September Scindia let the rebels go. Two days later, having collected some boats, they crossed the Chumbul with their baggage. Scindia had no desire that they should return, and by a clever secret movement he swept in a night both banks of the river of its boats. The Contingent discovered that his smooth language and appearance of concession were no sufficient guarantee of his intentions. They were now determined to test his sincerity. On the 7th, their officers and 300 men went to his palace gardens, and Scindia asked what they wished. The sepoys said that they had resolved to take Agra at once and destroy the Christians there, when they would carry Scindia's banner where he pleased. Scindia replied resolutely that they therefore did not await his orders. He declared that any movement made by them until after the monsoon would be against his will, and they should receive from him neither pay nor supplies. Exasperated at his reply, the sepoys declared that they had been betrayed. They returned to camp, planted the green flag of

Islam and the white flag of Hinduism and prepared their batteries.

The night of the 8th of September Scindia passed in sleepless anxiety. All his troops save the Mahrattas seemed inclined to join the green and white standards. Then he would have no alternative save to become a puppet in their hands, or fly to the English. Had but a bugle sounded, or an alarm gun fired in the lines that night, his troops had risen uncontrollably. He had every bugle brought to his palace, and every gun watched.

Scindia appeals to his own troops.

At break of day Scindia paraded his whole force. He understood the disposition of his own men. He addressed each corps, and he exhorted the Mahratta officers not to let their sovereign suffer the degradation of being coerced by troops that were not recruited from their race. The appeal was successful. Scindia, assured of the loyalty of his troops, moved out his whole force, and himself arranged every battery and picket to meet an attack. The Contingent, however, lost heart and withdrew their guns. At the close of September Scindia heard of the capture of Delhi by the British, and he exulted in their triumph and his own foresight.[1] On the 10th of October, the Mhow and Indore mutineers, reinforced by several bodies from Delhi, attacked the British camp at Agra, and were routed by Colonel Greathead's column.[2] On the 14th of October, Major Mac-

[1] Macpherson's Report on Gwalior, February 1858.

[2] Selections from the State Papers preserved in the Military Department of the Government of India, edited by G. W. Forrest, vol. i., Delhi.

pherson advised Scindia to let the Contingent go to Cawnpore, "as Greathead's column was ordered to press thither, and a powerful force was rapidly assembled there." The following day the Contingent, accompanied by the emissaries of the Nana, left Gwalior. "In a spirit of bitter malignity they utterly destroyed and defaced, by cutting down, every tree in the cantonments at Gwalior; and then on their route wasted fiercely Scindia's country, denouncing him as the great enemy and betrayer of their cause."[1]

The Contingent leaves Gwalior.

On hearing of the near approach of the rebels, May 31, 1858, Scindia sent one of his most influential favourites and leader of the party opposed to the Dewan, to watch and report on their movements. He talked with the leaders. The Rao maintained his old arrogant tone. "What does the Maharajah mean by thinking to fight with us? We are not here to fight, but to rest a few days, get supplies and money, and go to the Deccan. Upon what do you rely? Your army is with us, and will certainly join us. Depend upon that. We have from Gwalior two hundred letters of invitation and assurance. What can the Maharajah and the Dewan possibly do alone?"

But the Maharajah and his Prime Minister were divided in their opinions how to face the crisis. The Dewan advised strongly to delay by money and every possible device the advance of the rebels, so as to enable the force which had been sent in

[1] Macpherson's Report on Gwalior, February 1858.

pursuit from Calpee to arrive, and to entrench at Morar Scindia's own bodyguard and the Gwalior men, whom he considered were sufficient to check the rebels for a time if they advanced. Dunker Rao, like Scindia, was ignorant of Tantia Topee's secret visit, and knew not to what extent he had seduced from their allegiance the Mahratta troops. The officers of Scindia's own bodyguard, partisans of the rebels, told their sovereign that the minister's advice was derogatory and absurd. He could disperse the rebels by a single round from his gun. Scindia was a proud and headstrong youth. On the night of the 31st the Mahratta favourite returned from the rebel camp. He stated that the rebels were so dispirited and disorganised that "he could disperse them with his raw levy of 500 men." Scindia at once issued orders for the troops to assemble, and at break of day, without the knowledge of the Dewan, he led 8000 men and 24 guns to fight the rebels. But there was no fight. "Scindia's right was carried by a single sepoy, who ran up to it waving his sword and shouting 'Deen.' No one would fire at him. The mass of the rebels now came on. They and Scindia's men shouted 'Deen' together, while many congratulated and embraced, and very many went to eat watermelons in the bed of the Morar." The bodyguard alone made any resistance, and about sixty of these were killed or wounded. Scindia made for an adjacent hill on the right, saw his whole force marching homewards, and galloped straight with some fifteen attendants to the Phoolbagh. He there

Scindia marches to meet the rebels.

quickly changed his dress, remounted, and rode towards Agra. The Dewan, on hearing of His Highness's flight, advised the Private Secretary, if the Baiza Baee, the Maharanee, and other ladies could not go to Agra, to make for Brigadier Smith's camp beyond Sipree; he himself then sped after the Maharajah with a few sowars. He caught him up eight miles upon his road. Avoiding the highway, they reached Dholepore before midnight, and the Rana paid the fugitive monarch every possible attention.[1] On the following morning, the 3rd of June, Scindia reached Agra and, "as directed by the Governor-General," was received there with every mark of honour and sympathy. Not one of Scindia's pampered favourites and boon companions followed him.

Scindia arrives at Agra, 3rd June 1857.

The Ranees with the chief Sirdars proceeded to the Fort of Nurwa, thirty miles from Gwalior. One Ranee did not accompany them. "The Gujja Rajah, mother of the Maharanee, believing that Scindia was beleaguered at the Phoolbagh, seized a sword, mounted her horse, and rode to the palace, summoning all to her aid, until she found that he was certainly gone. She followed the other ladies on the third day. And with them went, alone of all Scindia's troops, 500 or 600 men, who chanced to be present, of his old Irregular Horse."

The Rao, Tantia Topee, and the Ranee of Jhansi

The Rao, Tantia Topee, and the Ranee of Jhansi entered the city in triumph, and declared the Nana as Peshwa or Chief of the Mahratta Confederacy.

[1] Report on the affairs of Gwalior from the 24th of May to the 20th of June 1858, by Major S. Charters Macpherson.

The Rao refused to assume any state. That he reserved, said he, "for the Musnud at Poona." He behaved with considerable tact, and restrained the ravages of war as well as the hand of the spoiler. He confiscated and gave to plunder only the houses of the Dewan and of the two chief military officers. He gave to Scindia's troops the three months' pay due to them, and two months' pay as gratuity, amounting in all to nine lacs. He distributed among his own troops about seven and a half lacs. The jail was thrown open, and the State prisoners in the fort, which was surrendered without a thought of defence, were released. The Rao had no desire to destroy the authority of Scindia. He reconfirmed in their offices nearly all Scindia's servants, and he did everything compatible with his object (the acknowledgment of the Peshwa as the paramount power in the Mahratta Confederacy) to give his visit a friendly character. The departure or escape of Scindia was to him a most untoward incident. He attempted, through a relative of Scindia's, to negotiate his return, while he also pressed the Baiza Baee to come and take charge of affairs. He wrote to her: "All is well here. Your going from hence was not, to my thinking, right. I have already written to you, but have received no answer. This should not be. I send this letter by Ramjee Chowley Jemdar. Do come and take charge of your seat of government. It is not my intention to take Gwalior, only to have a meeting and go on. This is my purpose. Therefore it is necessary that you should come, making

enter Gwalior in triumph.

no denial." The Baiza Baee sent the letter to Sir Robert Hamilton, who was with Brigadier Smith's force, which was advancing on Gwalior from Sipree by the Jhansi Road.

Sir Hugh Rose sends a pursuing column, 23rd May 1858.

On the day that Calpee was captured, Sir Hugh Rose detached a pursuing column,[1] commanded by Colonel Robertson, along the Jaloun road to ascertain the real line of the enemy's flight. To overtake them was hopeless, as they were not encumbered with baggage, and their cavalry and infantry were "in as good, as mine were in a bad condition." Sir Robert Hamilton was of opinion that the rebels would move to the north, but Colonel Robertson reported that a great part of their number had made a turn in a westerly direction, and he was certain that they would make for Oudh and cross the Jumna at a ford thirty-five or forty miles to the north-east of Calpee, or at a ford to the west of it. A short rest having enabled the European troops to recover a little, Sir Hugh Rose reinforced Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson with one Wing Her Majesty's 86th Regiment and two Squadrons Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons. Then there came two expresses from that officer stating that the Calpee rebels had certainly taken the road to Gwalior. "So little was at that time the great intrigue of Tantia Topee against Scindia's power even suspected, that the best authority for intel-

[1] 2 Troops 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry.
No. 18 Light Field Battery.
150 Hyderabad Cavalry.
8 Companies 25th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry.

ligence could not bring himself to think that Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson was not mistaken in his information." However, not many hours after the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson's last express, Sir Robert Hamilton received similar intelligence, when Sir Hugh Rose sent Brigadier Stuart with a Force[1] to reinforce Robertson and march on Gwalior after the rebels. The news received for the next few days was very uncertain and contradictory. On the 4th of June came the startling intelligence of what had happened at Gwalior. Sir Hugh Rose instantly conceived the gravity of the situation. If Tantia Topee left a portion of his army at Gwalior and marched with the remainder southwards and unfurled the standard of the Peshwa in the Deccan and Southern Mahratta country, thousands of Mahrattas would flock to it. A land of wild valleys and mountains inhabited by a gallant race would have to be again conquered. The inhabitants of Indore might follow the example of Gwalior, and the task of restoring Central India to British rule would have to be done again. No one, as he said, could foresee the extent of the evil if Gwalior were not promptly wrested from the rebels. His troops were exhausted, the heat was intense, there were no roads, and wide

Sir H. Rose learns the situation at Gwalior.

[1] No. 4 Light Field Battery.
2 Troops Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons.
1 Wing Her Majesty's 71st Regiment.
1 Wing Her Majesty's 86th Regiment.
4 Companies 25th Bombay Native Infantry.
Half a Company Bombay S. and M.
Two 18-pounders.
One 8-inch howitzer.

rivers had to be crossed. Nevertheless, in the face of these difficulties, he resolved to set forth at once, and he immediately telegraphed to the Governor-General that he would be glad to take command of the force ordered to recapture the city and fortress of Gwalior. Lord Canning thanked him warmly and accepted the offer. Brigadier-General Napier,[1] who had been appointed to succeed Sir Hugh Rose on his taking leave, informed Lord Canning that he would be delighted to serve as second in command.[2]

Sir Hugh Rose assumes command of the force ordered to recapture Gwalior.

[1] Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala.

[2] "Clyde and Strathnairn," by Major-General Sir Owen Tudor Burne, K.C.S.I., pp. 141, 142.

CHAPTER IX.

ON the 6th of June, Sir Hugh Rose, leaving a small force to garrison Calpee until relieved by Bengal troops, set out with the 1st Troop Bombay Horse Artillery, one Squadron 14th Light Dragoons, one Squadron 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry and Madras Sappers and Miners, to overtake Brigadier Stuart's column. To gain on them he had to make forced marches, but he made them at night to avoid the sun. "One day the heat in the shade rose to 130°." The cavalry constantly slept in their saddles, and by the constant lounging and dragging to one side galled their chargers' backs.[1] On the night of the third day the officer commanding the outlying picket of Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons reported to Sir Hugh Rose that his men had fallen from their saddles from exhaustion. "I had the picket relieved by a party of Hyderabad Cavalry."

Sir Hugh Rose quits Calpee, 6th June 1858.

As the force advanced, the roads became mere tracks cut up by ravines, and it was difficult for the baggage and supplies, carried on bad country carts, to keep up with the troops. "A detachment of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, who guarded them, were three days without a meal; after a

Sir Hugh Rose's plan of operations.

1 "Recollections of the Campaign in Malwa and Central India," by Assistant-Surgeon John Henry Sylvester, p. 175.

bathe in the Patrooj and a short rest to enable them to make their cakes, these good soldiers were quite ready to go on." On the 11th, Sir Hugh Rose overtook Brigadier Stuart with the 1st Brigade at the small fort of Indoorkee on the Scinde river. Here he heard from the Commander-in-Chief that Colonel Riddell's movable column of Bengal troops[1] was to escort a large supply of siege guns, mortars and ammunition, from Agra to Gwalior for the siege of that fort. He was also informed that Lord Clyde had ordered Brigadier Smith with a Brigade of the Rajpootana Field Force to march from the neighbourhood of Chandaree to Gwalior. Sir Hugh Rose, however, determined by a bold scheme to avoid a scientific siege of the fort, which would be a long, difficult task. He hoped that a successful attack on the enemy outside or inside the city would, as at Calpee, be followed by its easy capture. The following plan presented itself to his mind, and he proceeded at once to carry it out. He ordered Major Orr, Commanding Hyderabad Contingency, to move from Jhansi to Punear, twelve miles from Gwalior, where fifteen years before a British force had routed the Mahrattas. At Punear Major Orr held the Bombay road and was well placed for cutting off the retreat of the rebels. He ordered Brigadier Smith to advance from Sipree by the

[1] The troops were as follows .—
No. 21 Light Field Battery.
320 Bengal Europeans.
200 Sikh Horse.
300 Sikh Infantry.
Siege Artillery.

Jhansi road to Kotah-ka-Serai, about seven miles to the east of Gwalior. To complete the investment from the south-east and north, he sent instructions to Colonel Riddell to move with the column by the Agra and Gwalior road to the Residency, about seven miles to the north of Gwalior. But the instructions never reached him. Sir Hugh Rose trusted that all the columns of operations would be at their posts by the 19th of June. He himself would advance from the east, because with great trouble he had ascertained that this was the weakest side of Gwalior, and consequently the best for an attack. It was commanded by high hills difficult of access, but when these heights were taken he could drive the enemy from slope to slope till he reached a point from whence he could cannonade the Lushker or New City and, covered by the fire of artillery, storm it. He would cut boldly "in two the enemy's whole line, consisting of the old city, above which is the Fort, and the Lushker or New City." This point of attack had another advantage. "It enabled me to attack Gwalior almost unhurt by the fire of the Fort." It was a fine, daring strategical conception.

Sir Hugh Rose's column arrives near Morar, 16th June 1858.

On the 12th of June, Sir Hugh Rose's column reached Amean and heard that the Bengal troops had arrived to garrison Calpee, and that the weakened 2nd Brigade,[1] which had been left behind, was only seventeen miles in their rear. After having been joined by the 2nd Brigade, Brigadier-General Robert Napier, who at once

[1] The bulk of it remained at Calpee.

assumed command of it, pushed forward, and, on the morning of the 16th of June, after a long march, he reached Bahadurpore, about four or five miles from the cantonment on the Morar. The British Commander directed Captain Abbott with his Hyderabad Cavalry to reconnoitre the cantonment, and he announced that the rebels were in force in front of it. Sir Hugh Rose rode forward, himself and staff, and examined closely the enemy's position. He found that the side of the cantonments fronting the British force was occupied by strong bodies of cavalry, and that on their right were guns and a large body of infantry. As he surveyed the cantonments with the roofs of the bungalows rising above the bright green trees, a delicate problem rose in his mind. His force had just finished a long and fatiguing march and the sun had been up for some time. It was June and the rains had not burst. Four or five miles' more march in the sun and a combat afterwards would be a great trial of the men's strength. "On the other hand Morar looked inviting with several good buildings not yet burnt; they would be good quarters for a portion of the force; if I delayed the attack until the next day the enemy were sure to burn them. A prompt attack has always more effect on the rebels than a procrastinated one." And no commander had a greater gift for impromptu plans and unexpected dashes than Hugh Rose. He at once countermanded the order for encamping and hastened to complete his order of battle. The 1st Brigade under Brigadier Stuart occupied the first

Battle of Morar.

line; the 2nd Brigade, which mustered only 33 European officers, 9 Native officers and 1072 non-commissioned officers and rank and file,[1] was under Brigadier-General Napier and formed the second line. The first line under the General himself was arranged as follows:—No. 4 Light Field Battery and siege guns in the centre,[2] Her Majesty's 86th on their right; the 25th Bombay Native Infantry on their left; Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons on each flank. The second line was disposed as follows:—No. 18 Light Field Battery on the right, supported by Johnston's Hyderabad Horse; in the centre the Madras Sappers and Miners and a wing of Her Majesty's 71st Highland Light Infantry, while on the left was a wing of Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons.[3] The Hyderabad Cavalry covered the advance. Sir Hugh Rose requested Napier to watch well the hill and ravines on his left, and to advance *in echelon* from the right in support of the 1st Brigade while it took ground diagonally to the right, in order to reach the road

[1] The greater part of the Brigade was at Calpee. On the 16th of June it was composed as follows:—

1st Troop Horse Artillery.
No. 18 Light Field Battery.
14th Light Dragoons.
3rd Light Cavalry (on rearguard).
Madras Sappers and Miners.
71st Highlanders (14 officers, 381 men).
Hyderabad Cavalry.
Hyderabad Infantry (on rearguard).

[2] Sir Hugh Rose writes—"No. 18 Light Field Battery and the siege guns in the centre of the first." But this is an error. The 4th Light Field Battery belonged to the 1st Brigade.

[3] From Brigadier-General R. Napier, C.B., commanding 2nd Brigade, Central India Field Force, dated Camp Morar, 18th June 1858.

which led to the cantonment, and so outflank the enemy's left. As the troops advanced across the level plain the rebels fell back. But when the 2nd Brigade approached the right of the cantonment, the enemy opened fire upon them from six guns, and Napier directed Lieutenant Harcourt, commanding the No. 18 Light Field Battery, to engage them—"an order which he had barely received when he was summoned to join the 1st Brigade." Sir Hugh Rose was in a critical position. Scindia's agent, who was guiding him to the cantonment road, lost his way, and the 1st Brigade, getting on the edge of broken ground, was taken utterly by surprise by a well-directed cross fire from a masked battery in the enemy's centre and guns on their right. Lieutenant Strutt (who commanded the siege pieces) and Lieutenant Harcourt with prompt decision brought their guns into action, and opened a telling fire on the batteries of the enemy. Sir Hugh Rose also brought Captain Lightfoot's Troop 1st Bombay Horse Artillery from the 2nd Brigade against the rebels' right battery. The cavalry, owing to the nature of the ground, could not be used. The General, having reinforced his left with the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, advanced with the 86th in skirmishing order. They went over the broken ground, heedless of a heavy cannonade, and took by storm all the Morar cantonments in their front. Then Sir Hugh Rose brought forward the right shoulders of the 86th line of skirmishers and, resting their right on the right bank of the river from which

Storming of the cantonments.

the cantonment takes its name, swept the whole cantonment and occupied it. Abbott, with the Hyderabad Cavalry, got across the nullahs further to the right, and galloped through the cantonment, in the hope of cutting off the enemy's retreat across the stone bridge which spans the river at the back of the cantonment on the road to the city. But he arrived too late. Many had passed over the bridge, and they had taken four guns with them. The main body of the rebels had, when driven through the cantonment, joined their comrades who lined the ravines which faced their right.

Brigadier Napier advances on the enemy.

Whilst Sir Hugh Rose was storming the cantonment, Napier with his Brigade reduced to the Wing of Her Majesty's 71st Highland Light Infantry, the Right Wing of Her Majesty's 14th Dragoons, Madras Sappers and Miners, and 100 Horse of the Hyderabad Contingent, continued his advance on the enemy. He saw them retreating in large numbers to their right rear—a tempting and favourable opportunity for cavalry. But, watching their slow deliberate movement, he became convinced that they were assured of protection by the ground in front of them. He sent his Brigade-Major and a few sowars to examine it. They came back and reported a network of ravines lined with infantry. Napier ordered Colonel Campbell, commanding the wing of the 71st Regiment, to throw it forward in skirmishing order supported by the 14th Dragoons. The brakes and hollows so screened the sepoys that none could be seen, and they gave no sign of life. When the skir-

mishers on the right, under Major Rich, approached the edge of a deep nullah, the insurgents suddenly opened on them a very heavy fire. Rich moved his skirmishers rapidly forward to dislodge them. "Lieutenant Neave led with ardent courage the charge, and fell when close to the nullah, mortally wounded, sincerely regretted by his brave regiment and his General." In an instant the Highlanders rushed down the ravine, and it was taken after a fierce and dogged struggle. Then, pushing on, they took the ravines in rear by storm.[1] The whole of the rebels in them were killed, "after a desperate resistance which cost the 71st, I regret to say, besides Lieutenant Neave, several brave soldiers killed and wounded. . . . In the advanced nullah alone seventy rebels lay dead, belonging to Scindia's faithless guards, and wearing English accoutrements and breast-plates, on which was engraved '1st Brigade Infantry.'"[2] Meanwhile, Colonel Campbell took two companies of the 71st under Lieutenant Scott, and cleared some

Lieutenant Neave.

[1] "Lieutenant Rose, 25th Bombay Native Infantry, afforded them useful co-operation by skilfully placing a party of his regiment so as to enfilade these dangerous entrenchments."—From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, commanding Field Forces south of the Nerbudda, to Major-General Sir William Mansfield, K.C.B., Chief of the Staff of the Army in India, dated Poonah, 13th October 1858.

[2] Ibid.

The B Company of the Madras Engineers (reduced to forty-five men), commanded by Lieutenant Gordon, joined in the attack on the ravine. Naique Narrainsawmy, seeing a soldier about to be killed by three of the enemy, fired at one of them and wounded him, but as he still continued to advance, he attacked and killed him with his bayonet. The other two, on seeing him killed, ran away; and the Naique by his great gallantry saved the life of the British soldier.—"Military History of the Madras Engineers," by Major H. M. Vibart, vol. ii. p. 345.

ravines on his left and front. He was then directed to clear the top of a hill, where a party of rebels held a temple and some strong ground. "This duty was thoroughly effected, and thirty of the enemy left dead on the field." [1]

The front being now quite clear of the enemy and the success of the day having been completed, Napier withdrew his troops to the shelter of the cantonments. The troops pitched their tents "on what was formerly the well-cared-for gardens of the officers of the Contingent, and what was still covered by flowers and shrubs, lime, custard-apple, and pomegranate trees and vines." The capture of the cantonments gave Sir Hugh Rose the command of the line of the Morar river, of the road to Agra, and enabled him to communicate with Brigadier Smith to the left, and the Residency to the right.[2]

Brigadier Smith reaches Kotah-ka-Serai, 17th June 1858.

On the morning of the 17th, Brigadier Smith reached Kotah-ka-Serai, which lies between three and four miles south-east of Gwalior. It consisted of a small fort and native caravansary from whence its name is derived. A small river runs past the fort. "Between it and Gwalior lies a chain of small hills, a mile broad, and through a defile in them ran the Jhansi road, flanked on the west by a canal impassable to guns or horse except by a bridge just burnt by the rebels." [3] Brigadier Smith

[1] Brigadier-General R. Napier's Despatch.
[2] Sir Hugh Rose's Despatch.
[3] "Report on the Affairs of Gwalior," by Major S. Charters Macpherson, dated 20th June 1858.

had been ordered by Sir Hugh Rose to halt at Kotah-ka-Serai and communicate with him. Smith was, however, hampered with a large quantity of baggage and Kotah was not a safe position for a halt. The enemy, who were seen in large masses, seemed determined to attack him, and he thought it best to take the initiative. Placing his baggage in and near the fort of Kotah under as strong a guard as he could afford, he crossed the river with a troop of the 8th Hussars to reconnoitre. When they had ridden about a thousand yards, a masked battery suddenly opened on them and, as they turned to gallop out of range, one or two men and horses dropped. The Brigadier's horse, being slightly wounded in the scuffle, fell and rolled over him, bruising his rider severely on the temple and spraining his wrist.[1] But he was soon in the saddle again and no one knew he had been hurt. He had ascertained that the ground in front was impracticable for cavalry, and that about fifteen hundred yards from Kotah-ka-Serai their guns were in position and their line ran all under the hills across the road to Gwalior.

Smith resolves to attack.

As soon as he returned from reconnoitring, Brigadier Smith ordered the Horse Artillery to advance, and they soon silenced the enemy's guns. Then he sent his Infantry across the broken ground. Colonel Raines, commanding Her Majesty's 95th, led his men, covered with two companies in skirmishing order and the 10th Bombay Native Infantry

Battle of Kotah-ka-Serai, 18th June 1858.

[1] "Campaigning Experiences in Rajpootana and Central India," by Mrs Henry Duberly, p. 128.

in echelon as a reserve, to attack the enemy's entrenchments. When within fifty yards of the works he ordered the skirmishers to advance at the double and charge. With a loud cheer they rushed forward, and the works were within their grasp, when a deep ditch with four feet of water and steep banks stopped them. "It was with difficulty that the men got over in single file, and by the time that the skirmishers had ascended the opposite bank the entrenchment was completely abandoned." The skirmishers pushed on through the ravines and swept the hills. Then Raines received orders to proceed up the road with the 10th in reserve. While Raines was pushing across the broken ground and driving the enemy from the hills, Smith was for some time unable to bring his cavalry into action, and as the enemy threatened to attack in large numbers his baggage and rear, he was obliged to send back a large detachment of his slender force. With a squadron of the 8th Hussars and two divisions of Horse Artillery and one troop of the 1st Lancers he entered the mouth of the defile. From the hills on the left the rebels opened fire, but on they rode. The end of the defile on the crest of the hills was reached. Below them lay the wide plain between Gwalior and Morar. Two batteries of six and five guns were near the Phoolbagh palace, commanded by Tantia Topee himself. Two eighteen-pounders were in the Campoo to the left and many guns at other points. Smith, who had now come in touch with his infantry, saw from the crest the Gwalior Contingent

Cavalry in their red uniforms slowly advancing in skirmishing order up a broad ravine to his right and about a hundred yards in front of him. The 95th with a shout opened fire; the horsemen immediately broke from under it.[1] Smith ordered the squadron of Hussars to charge them. Led by Colonel Hicks and Captain Heneage, they dashed down at full speed, sweeping the enemy before them, and they never drew rein until they had ridden through the enemy's camp in the Phoolbagh two and a half miles away. The Phoolbagh was in their possession, but only for a moment. They could not hold it, for they had far outstripped their support. They returned, bringing with them two guns, "the best proofs of how nobly they had fought and conquered."[2] Officers and men were so completely exhausted and prostrated from heat and the day's work that "they could scarcely sit on their saddles, and were for the moment incapable of further exertion."[3] The 95th now arrived near the guns. "They had been out the whole day without a meal under a burning sun and had marched at 2 A.M. that morning from the previous encampment ground, a distance of 26 miles. Five officers and eighty-one men had been struck down by the sun. The enemy were collecting, both on the front and flanks, and, as his troops were in-

[1] From Lieutenant-Colonel T. N. Hicks, Commanding Artillery, Central India Field Force, late Commanding Field Force from Jhansi, to Brigadier M. W. Smith, Commanding Rajpootana Field Force, dated Camp Morar, near Gwalior, 25th June 1858.

[2] Sir Hugh Rose's Despatch.

[3] Brigadier M. W. Smith's Report.

capable of further exertion, Brigadier Smith retired the cavalry by alternative troops protected by the artillery, during which movements both arms showed the greatest steadiness and entered the ravines under the protection of the infantry posted there." He then took up a position for the night, and, sending for his baggage, placed it in a sort of amphitheatre formed by a portion of the hills he occupied. "I guarded both ends of the defile with strong pickets of infantry, in strong positions formed by the ground, and also threw out strong pickets, both cavalry and infantry, towards the heights on our right; the left of our position was defended against any sudden assaults by a steep bank and a canal." A brilliant day's work was done by a jaded column.

Death of the Ranee of Jhansi.

Among the slain that day was the Ranee of Jhansi. Many tales have been told how she met her death, but the account given by her servant has the strong feature of truth. It was her custom to lead her troops clad in military attire, a red jacket, trousers, and a white turban on her head, which made it impossible to tell her sex. The Brahminee concubine of her late husband, dressed as a trooper of the Gwalior Contingent, never left her side. They were seated together near the Phoolbagh batteries, drinking sherbet, four hundred of the 5th Irregulars near them, when the alarm was given that the Hussars approached. "Forty or fifty of them came up, and the rebels fled, save about fifteen. The Ranee's horse refused to leap the canal, when she received a shot in the side,

and then a cut on the head, but rode off. She soon after fell dead, and was burnt in a garden close by."[1] At the same time the Brahminee concubine received a long sabre cut in front. "She rode into the city, was tended by a Fakeer and the Mahomedan Kotwal there, and, dying in their hands, was reputed and buried as a Mahomedan convert."[2] Thus died the Ranee of Jhansi, who, Sir Hugh Rose said, "was the bravest and best military leader of the rebels." To speak of her, as some have done, as "the Indian Joan of Arc" is indeed a libel on the fair name of the Maid of Orleans. The Ranee of Jhansi was an ardent, daring, licentious woman, and though we must bestow our tribute of admiration for the indefatigable energy and undaunted bravery she displayed, we cannot forget she was answerable for a massacre of men, women, and children, as revolting and deliberate as that of Cawnpore. The voices crying underneath the sod in the garden outside Jhansi were heard and the dark account demanded.

Sir Hugh joins Brigadier Smith, 16th June 1858.

On the evening of the 17th, Sir Hugh Rose received from Brigadier Smith an account of his action, and a request for reinforcements. He at once directed Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson to join him with three troops Light Dragoons, 4 guns No. 4 Light Field Battery, and the 25th Bombay Light Infantry. The next morning the troops which had been left to garrison Calpee reached

[1] "Report on the Affairs of Gwalior," from the 24th of May to the 20th June 1858, by Major S. Charters Macpherson.

[2] Ibid.

camp, and on the afternoon of the same day Sir Hugh Rose marched from Morar to Kotah-ka-Serai with the following force:—

2 troops 14th Light Dragoons.
No. 18 Light Field Battery.
Madras Sappers and Miners.
Wing Her Majesty's 71st Highland Light Infantry.
Her Majesty's 86th Regiment.
Wing 5th Hyderabad Infantry.
2 18-pounders and 1 8-inch howitzer.

He left in Morar a sufficient force under Brigadier General Napier for its protection, the investment of Gwalior, and the pursuit of the enemy when they retreated from it.

The march to Kotah-ka-Serai, full twenty miles, was most harassing. Of the 86th alone, a hundred men were struck down by the sun and had to be carried in dhoolies; but their commander tells us that these gallant soldiers were not deterred by sickness from taking part next day in the assault on Gwalior. Having crossed the river Morar, the column bivouacked for the night on some rocky ground not far from Smith's camp. The next morning the General reconnoitred the enemy's position and examined the ground occupied by our troops. He found Smith's position was cramped, and commanded by a battery of 9-pounders, which the enemy had erected on a ridge on the highest of the series of heights which rose on the other side of the canal from a narrow plain and were intersected by ravines. "To pro-

Reconnoitres the enemy's position.

tect the battery and the position, the enemy had concentrated a numerous force of all arms on the ridge, as well as a large body of cavalry in rear of it." [1] The General also discovered that "about a mile and a half farther back, and about the same distance from the left of the road, was stationed, in a gorge of the hills, a large body of the enemy's infantry, with guns. They guarded a road which branched off from the ford southwards to Gwalior." [2] Hugh Rose's rapid resource was to cut off both these bodies from Gwalior. The canal, which was deep, was the main obstacle. To surmount it he ordered a bridge or dam to be made some way to the left rear of his position. The company of Madras Sappers and Miners, "whose zeal and intelligence no hardship could abate," [2] would construct it by sunset. At night he would cross it with a force of all arms, get on the south road, and place himself between Gwalior and the two positions occupied by the enemy. Then he would fall on these posts, while Brigadier Smith's brigade, concealed by the ravines, would attack their front and left flank. This project, characterised by his usual skill and enterprise, Sir Hugh Rose was unable to execute, owing to the activity of the foe. Their troops, accompanied by artillery, poured forth from Gwalior, and they seemed determined to fall on his left flank, which they knew was weak. The position in the pass, occupied as a temporary point without any view to fighting a battle, was false, and Hugh Rose could not risk a serious attack.

[1] Sir Hugh Rose's despatch. [2] Ibid.

He therefore determined to change the defensive for the offensive. His plan of battle was soon clear to him. He directed Brigadier Stuart to move with the 86th Regiment, supported by the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, to cross the canal, and, crowning the heights on the other side of it, to attack the enemy on their left, whilst at the same time Brigadier Smith, with the 95th, supported by the 10th Bombay Native Infantry, should move from his right front, cross the canal in skirmishing order, and advance obliquely under cover of the ground over the shoulder of the hill, on which was the rebels' battery against their left front.[1] Plan of battle.

Brigadier Smith, crossing the canal, ascended steadily the heights, with the 86th under Lieutenant-Colonel Lowth. The enemy, finding that their left was being turned, retired rapidly towards the battery, closely pressed by the skirmishers of the 86th. Beneath their battery was an entrench-ment. But they did not hold it. They retreated across it to their guns. "The gallant skirmishers gave them no time to rally in the battery, but dashing with a cheer at the parapet, crossed it, and took the guns which defended the ridge — three excellent English 9-pounders." Lieutenant-Colonel Raines, coming up with a wing of the 95th, turned the captured guns on the enemy's cavalry and infantry which he saw in detached bodies in the Battle of Gwalior.

[1] Sir Hugh Rose writes "against their left flank."

"This attack on their left at once had the effect of making the enemy desist on his right, and no sooner did they find that their left was turned by the movement than they fell back in haste, abandoning their guns."—"Calcutta Review," vol. xli.

Lieutenant Roome and the 10th Bombay Native Infantry.

plain below. Meanwhile Lieutenant Roome, in command of the 10th Bombay Native Infantry, who were moving up in support of the 95th and in protection of our right, found himself exposed to a fire of artillery and musketry from the heights on the enemy's extreme left. "Advancing with half of his regiment in skirmishing order, and leaving the remainder in support, he cleared the two nearest heights of the rebel infantry, and charging gallantly, took two brass field-pieces and three mortars, which were in a plain at the foot of the second height."

The British troops were now in possession of the highest range, and Gwalior lay at their feet. "The sight," says Sir Hugh, "was interesting. To our right was the handsome Palace of the Phoolbagh, its gardens and the old city, surmounted by the fort, remarkable for its ancient architecture, with lines of extensive fortifications round the high and precipitous rock of Gwalior. To our left lay the 'Lushker' or new city, with its spacious houses half hidden by trees." He saw that the slopes descended gradually towards Gwalior, and in the plains below could be discovered the rebels, driven from the heights, seeking shelter among the houses and trees outside the city. He had intended to proceed no farther that day, and had sent word to Napier to attack Gwalior from Morar in concert with himself the next morning. He now changed his plain. "I felt convinced that I could take Gwalior before sunset," and he at once prepared for a fresh onset. Colonel Owen, with the 1st

Bombay Lancers, was directed to descend the hills and occupy the road which led to the grand parade of the Lushker. The 3rd Troop Bombay Horse Artillery, with a squadron of 8th Hussars, were to cover Sir Hugh Rose's extreme right, parallel with the troops attacking Gwalior. No. 4 Light Field Battery, with two troops of Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, were ordered to cover his advanced line, and to answer the enemy's batteries in position in front of Gwalior.

Sir Hugh Rose orders a general attack.

All being ready, Sir Hugh Rose gave the word for the general attack, and the infantry, owing to the formation of the hills, moved forward in irregular line. The 86th forming the left was in advance, the 95th, the right, was refused. The enemy were attempting to load their two 18-pounders when the General ordered the 9-pounder which he had placed in position opposite them to be fired with shrapnel. "The shrapnel, a remarkable one, burst just over the 18-pounders into about twenty pieces, killed and disabled some of the gunners, and put the rest to flight." The enemy's infantry and cavalry began to retire in groups across the grand parade. At that instant the 1st Bombay Lancers, issuing from the pass, charged across the wide plain, cut them down and, continuing their rush, pursued them through the Lushker. In the narrow street, bravely leading his men, fell Lieutenant Mills of the 1st Bombay Lancers, "a very promising and popular young officer." Captain Loch in the pursuit cut down the rebel who shot him. Lieutenant-Colonel Owen,

not thinking it advisable to have his troopers involved in street fighting, withdrew them from the town.

Capture of the Lushker and old town.

The British soldiers raised a loud cheer as the Bombay Lancers swept across the plain, and Raines, with two companies of the 95th, charged down the slope "with his usual spirit" and took the two 18-pounders and two small mortars on the grand parade. They were soon joined by the General. He determined to advance across the plain, force his way if necessary through the Lushker, and gain possession of Scindia's palace. Captain Meade, who was well acquainted with the town, volunteered to act as a guide. Remembering the bloody fight which had taken place in the streets of Jhansi, Sir Hugh Rose directed Raines to form four companies of his regiment for street fighting. Placing himself at their head with Meade by his side, "each officer having his pistol at full-cock in their hand," he marched through a mile of streets, and arrived at the open space in front of the palace. The approach to the palace block was surrounded by lofty buildings built of solid masonry, with terraced roofs screened by a parapet. To storm them would entail a heavy loss of life. The palace courtyard was full of excited soldiery and many desperadoes. Meade volunteered to ride forward alone and to endeavour to obtain the peaceful surrender of the palace. The General assented. The column was halted, and Meade rode forward to the entrance of the courtyard.[1] There was no

Gallantry of Captain Meade.

[1] "General Sir Richard Meade," by Thomas Henry Thornton, C.S.I.

gate, but a heavy beam of wood across the gateway prevented a horseman from passing through it. For some minutes Meade on his horse waited outside the portal. Many muskets were levelled at him. "At length to my great relief a little wizened Mussulman who was close to the gateway recognised me, and shouted out three or four times, 'This is Meade Sahib,' and hearing this three or four men at last complied with my repeated demand to remove the barrier, and I dashed into the courtyard up to a group of some five or six men whom I had previously noticed as being evidently the leaders of the party." Taking one of them, "a tall powerful man," by the shoulder, he told them he would save their lives if they obeyed his orders. But there must be no delay, as the British troops were ready and eager to storm the palace. They said they would hand it over to their sovereign, but not to the English. He replied that it must be given up at once or it would be stormed, and not a man of them would escape. After some parleying they consented to retire into the interior of the palace buildings. Then Meade rode back and reported the result to the General, and arrangements were made for the security of the palace. Before sunset the Lushker, or new city, and the old town were occupied with very trifling loss to us, "and, to the unbounded gratitude of the people and the high credit of the troops, with scarcely an act of plunder."

Meanwhile Brigadier Smith had got into action

Brigadier Smith captures the Palace of Phoolbagh.

with the enemy near the Palace of Phoolbagh, which after some stiff fighting he captured. He then pursued a large body of the enemy, who were retiring round the rock of Gwalior towards the Residency, covering their retreat with guns. After a stout resistance, "which did credit to the enemy's artillery," the guns were captured,[1] and they pressed hard on the fleeing foe long after black night had fallen, until men and horses could go no farther.

Scindia returns and is escorted to his palace in the Lushker.

On the morning of the 20th, Scindia, who had arrived from Agra two days before, was conducted from the cantonment of Morar by the Agent of the Governor-General to the parade before the Phoolbagh. Here he was received by Sir Hugh Rose and his force with every possible mark of respect. Then the victorious commander, accompanied by his personal and divisional staff, and all the superior officers of the forces "whose duties allowed them to be present," escorted his Royal Highness to his palace in the Lushker, "with a squadron of Her Majesty's 8th Hussars, and another of Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, most honourable representatives of my force." As the cavalcade passed along the long and handsome street which leads from the grand parade to the palace, the population of the half-empty, half-closed Lushker, which had

[1] "Brigadier Smith speaks very highly of the steadiness with which Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons escorting the 3rd Troop Bombay Horse Artillery stood the enemy's artillery fire, shot and shell, and of the ardour with which they afterwards fell on the guns and the retreating enemy."—From Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, Commanding Field Force south of the Nerbudda, to Major Mansfield.

recently been despoiled by his faithless soldiery, welcomed the return of their sovereign and of peace.

Capture of the Fort of Gwalior.

A grim tragedy, however, marred the joy of that morning. As the troops were drawn out to receive Scindia, four or five shots were fired at them from the ramparts of the fort, and as His Highness and the Agent advanced with their *cortège*, one shot struck immediately in front of them. It was a startling surprise, for the General had been informed that the fort had been vacated during the night. It had been vacated, but thirteen men, four of them Contingent sepoys, and nine Velaites, with two women and a child, after proceeding some miles towards Agra, resolved deliberately to return and die in it.[1] Sir Hugh had ordered the fort to be closely invested.

Daring action of Lieutenants Rose and Wallace.

Lieutenant Rose of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, who had distinguished himself at the hand-to-hand fighting in the ravines, occupied, with a picket furnished by his regiment, the Kotwal or police station near the main gateway. Lieutenant Waller, a brother officer, with a small party of the same corps, held an adjoining post. When Rose heard the firing of the guns and learnt that some Ghazees were still defending the fort, he went to Waller and suggested that they should attack the stronghold and destroy the desperate fanatics. Taking with them a blacksmith, the two pickets, and twenty Pathan police, they crept up the winding road until they reached the main gate-

[1] "Report on Gwalior," dated 20th June 1858, by Major S. Charters Macpherson.

way, which they found closed. It was burst open, and, surprising the other gates before they could be shut, they reached an archway on which the fanatics had brought a gun to bear.[1] The Ghazees, having taken post on a bastion, flung over the walls all their gold and silver coin, slew their women and the child, and swore to die. The gun burst at the third discharge, and the attacking party rushed through the archway and made their way, regardless of the bullets sent down upon them, to the top of the wall.[2] On the bastion the fanatics withstood them steadfastly, and slaying, were slain. Rose, who was swift to do battle among the foremost, fell mortally wounded, "closing his early career by taking the Fort of Gwalior by force of arms."[3]

Brigadier-General Napier ordered to pursue the enemy.

At 5.15 A.M. on the 28th of June Brigadier-General R. Napier received orders to pursue the enemy, and within an hour and a half after receipt of them he marched from Morar. Early

[1] Sir Hugh Rose's Despatch. Malleson states: "By the time the sixth gate was forced the alarm was given." The five gates of a fortress, if they had been fastened, could hardly have been burst open by a blacksmith, however "lusty" or "stalwart."

[2] "Report on Gwalior," dated 20th June 1858, by Major S. Charters Macpherson.

[3] Sir Hugh Rose's Despatch. Brigadier C. S. Stuart thus referred to Lieutenant Rose in his Brigade orders :—"Brigadier Stuart has received with the deepest regret a report of the death of Lieutenant Rose, 25th Bombay Native Infantry, who was mortally wounded yesterday on entering the Fort of Gwalior, on duty with his men. The Brigadier feels assured that the whole brigade unite with him in deploring the death of this gallant officer, whose many sterling qualities none who knew him could fail to appreciate."

Lieutenant Waller received the V.C. for his gallantry, and Lieutenant Rose would also have obtained it if he had lived.

next day he caught up the enemy at Jowra-Alipore,[1] thirty-two miles off. His force consisted of a troop of Horse Artillery and about 500 cavalry, 60 of whom were Europeans.[2] The enemy were reported to have 12,000 men and 22 guns. He found them strongly posted with their right resting on Alipore, guns and infantry in the centre and cavalry on both flanks. A rising ground hid the approach of the small British force, and Napier was able to reconnoitre their position in security from a distance of about 1200 yards.[3] He found the ground was open to the enemy's left, "and a careful examination with the telescope left me assured that there was nothing to check the advance of my artillery." He directed Captain Lightfoot to take up a position about 600 yards from the enemy's left and enfilade their line, "and to act afterwards as circumstances might dictate." In their column of march the little force

Battle of Jowra-Alipore, 29th June 1858.

[1] So Brigadier-General R. Napier spells it. Macpherson writes "Joura-Allapore," Malleson, "Jaura-Alipur," Holmes, "Joora-Alipur."

Corps.	European Officers.	Native Officers.	Non-Commissioned Officers, and Rank and File.
1st Troop Horse Artillery	4	0	95
14th Light Dragoons	2	0	60
3rd Light Cavalry	7	5	92
Hyderabad Cavalry	2	0	243
Meade's Horse	3	3	174
Total	18	8	664

[3] From Brigadier-General R. Napier, Commanding 2nd Brigade, Central India Field Force, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Central India Field Force, dated Camp, Jowra-Alipore, 21st June 1858.

was soon again in movement. Abbott's Hyderabad Cavalry were in advance, then came Lightfoot's troop of Bombay Horse Artillery, supported by Captain Prettyjohn's troop of 14th Light Dragoons, and two troops 3rd Light Cavalry under Lieutenant Dick, with a detachment of Meade's Horse under Lieutenant Burlton in reserve. When the troops came into view of the enemy, after turning the shoulder of the rising ground, the whole were advanced at a gallop, and as soon as the artillery had reached the flank of the enemy's position, the line was formed to the left, and the guns opened on the enemy at a distance of 600 yards.[1] After a few rounds, nine guns which were in action under a clump of trees were silenced, and the enemy showed signs of abandoning them. Lightfoot quickly limbered up, and advancing at a gallop he and Abbott with the Hyderabad Cavalry charged at the same moment into the battery. "You cannot imagine," writes one who was present, "the dash of the artillery; it was wonderful. We could scarcely keep up with them." Instantaneously Napier, placing himself at the head of his 600 cavalry, gave the order to charge, and they swept through the enemy's batteries and camp and passed the villages into the open, driving before them and cutting down the rebels for several miles. Never was the rout of an army more complete. Besides twenty-five guns, a considerable quantity of ammunition and

[1] From - Brigadier General R. Napier, Commanding 2nd Brigade, Central India Field Force, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Central India Field Force, dated Camp, Jowra-Alipore, 21st June 1858.



FIELD-MARSHAL LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

elephants, tents, carts, and baggage fell into the hands of the victors. Many a brave deed was done that day. Napier brings to the notice of Sir Hugh Rose the conduct of Private Novell of Her Majesty's 14th Dragoons, who charged alone into a village under a very heavy fire, "for which act of gallantry I beg to recommend him for the Victoria Cross." Six of his Indian comrades were specially recommended by their Commander for the Order of Merit for great gallantry displayed on the field.

Thus, with a daring feat of arms, closed the Central Indian Campaign, which has a high title to be regarded as one of the great achievements recorded in the annals of war. Lord Canning, when he heard of the capture of Gwalior, issued the following proclamation: "The Right Honourable the Governor-General has the highest gratification in announcing that the town and fort of Gwalior were conquered by Major-General Sir Hugh Rose on the 19th instant, after a general action, in which the rebels who had usurped the authority of Maharajah Scindia were totally defeated. On the 20th of June Maharajah Scindia, attended by the Governor-General's Agent for Central India, and Sir Hugh Rose, and escorted by British troops, was restored to the palace of his ancestors, and was welcomed by his subjects with every mark of loyalty and attachment. It was on the 1st of June that the rebels, aided by the treachery of some of Maharajah Scindia's troops, seized the capital of His Highness's kingdom, and hoped to establish a new Government, under a pretender, in His Highness's territory.

Lord Canning's proclamation.

Eighteen days had not elapsed before they were compelled to evacuate the town and fort of Gwalior, and to relinquish the authority which they had endeavoured to usurp. The promptitude and success with which the strength of the British Government has been put forth for the restoration of its faithful ally to the capital of his territory, and the continued presence of British troops at Gwalior to support His Highness in the re-establishment of his administration, offer to all a convincing proof that the British Government has the will and the power to be friend to those who, like Maharajah Scindia, do not shrink from their obligations or hesitate to avow their loyalty. The Right Honourable the Governor-General, in order to mark his appreciation of the Maharajah Scindia's friendship, and his gratification of His Highness's authority in his ancestral dominions, is pleased to direct that a royal salute shall be fired at every principal station in India."

Sir Hugh Rose resigns the command.

On the 29th of June, Sir Hugh Rose, on account of ill-health, made over the command to Brigadier-General Napier, and in the following order he bade farewell to the troops he had led to victory upon victory :—

His farewell order.

"The Major-General Commanding, being on the point of resigning the command of the Poonah Division of the Bombay Army,[1] on account of ill-health, bids farewell to the Central India Field Forces, and at the same time expresses the pleas-

[1] The Central India Field Force was a branch of the Poonah Division of the army of the Presidency of Bombay.

ure he feels that he commanded them when they gained one more laurel at Gwalior. The Major-General witnessed with satisfaction how the troops and their gallant companions-in-arms — the Rajpootana Brigade, under General Smith — stormed height after height, and gun after gun, under the fire of a numerous field and siege artillery, taking finally by assault two 18-pounders at Gwalior. Not a man in these forces enjoyed his natural strength or health; and an Indian sun and months of marching and broken rest had told on the strongest; but the moment they were told to take Gwalior for their Queen and country they thought of nothing but victory. They gained it, restoring England's brave and true ally to his throne, putting to complete rout the rebel army, killing numbers of them, and taking from them in the field, exclusive of those in the fort, fifty-two pieces of artillery, all their stores and ammunition, and capturing the city and fort of Gwalior, reckoned the strongest in India. The Major-General thanks sincerely Brigadier-General Napier, C.B., Brigadier-General Stuart, C.B., and Brigadier Smith, commanding brigades in the field, for the very efficient and able assistance which they gave him, and to which he attributes the success of the day. He bids them and their brave soldiers, once more, a kind farewell. He cannot do so under better aspects than those of the victory of Gwalior."

CHAPTER X.

Rohilcund. BOUNDED on the north by the Himalayas, on the south-west by the Ganges, and on the east by the Province of Oudh, it is its geographical position which has given to the large triangular fertile tract known as Rohilcund its special historical character. It was open to settlement in two quarters, and it became the battlefield of rival races and rival creeds. According to tradition, the Katehria Rajputs, Hindu warriors of the purest blood, flowed into it from Benares or Tirhut, became the prominent clan, and the eastern portion of this tract was long known as Kather.[1] When the power of Islam began to advance westward, the province was brought under Mussulman rule, and in the days of the great Moghul Cæsars it was ruled by a succession of Moghul governors. But the Hindu chiefs fought bravely for their independence, and the stern suppression of the numerous revolts

[1] "The origin and meaning of this term is disputed. It is certainly connected with the name of the Katehriyā Rajputs, who were the predominant clan in it; but their name is sometimes said to be derived from that of the tract, which is identified with the name of a kind of soil called *kather* or *katehr*, while traditions in Budaun District derive it from Kāthiāwār, which is said to be the original home of the clan."—"Imperial Gazetteer of India," new edition, *s.v.* "Rohilkhand."

condemned the peasantry to poverty, and the soil to barrenness. During the sway of the Moghul emperors, bands of Afghans, led by soldiers of fortune, received grants of territory, and began to make settlements in Northern India. In 1719 one of these military adventurers, Ali Muhammad, obtained the title of Nawab, and the grant of the greater part of Kather, which henceforward was known by the name of Rohilcund, on account of the Rohillas, a body of Pathans who followed the standard of Ali. After the death of Ali Muhammad, his estates were divided among his sons and the Rohilla chiefs, and Rahmat Khan, his friend and able lieutenant, took the most important portion, and became head of the Rohilla confederacy. When war broke out between the English and the Vizier of Oudh, the Rohillas assisted the Vizier, and the son of Rahmat Khan was present at the battle of Patna, when his troops were compelled to retire to Buxar. In 1771 the Mahrattas invaded Rohilcund, and plundered and destroyed all before them. At this grave crisis in their affairs the Rohilla chiefs appealed for assistance to the Nawab of Oudh, now the ally of England, and he consented to lend his aid on the express condition that if the Mahrattas were compelled to retire with or without war, the Rohillas should pay a certain sum of money. The Mahrattas were compelled to retire by the English troops, which had been ceded to the Nawab at his requisition and for his defence. The Vizier then demanded from the Rohilla chiefs the sum they had stipu-

The Rohillas a body of Pathans.

The Mahrattas invade Rohilcund, 1771.

lated by treaty to pay, but they not only failed to pay him the forty lakhs of rupees for his protection against the Mahrattas, but they actually supplied the Mahrattas with money when they appeared against him. The Nawab resolved to annex their country for this gross breach of faith, and to ask his ally to aid him in the enterprise. Hastings and his colleagues, after long and mature deliberation, came to the conclusion that on the annexation of Oudh depended not only its tranquillity and safety, but the tranquillity and safety of our own dominions, and determined to aid the Vizier. For the services of the English troops the Government of Bengal agreed to accept a payment of forty lakhs, the sum which the Rohillas had agreed to pay the Vizier for his protection against the Mahrattas. The Indian Government did not sell their troops to fight in a war in which they had no interest direct or indirect. The English ceded their troops to an ally, with whom the strictest engagements subsisted, to punish certain chiefs for a breach of a treaty to which the English Commander-in-Chief had affixed his signature, and to annex a territory which these chiefs had gained possession of by the sword, and could no longer defend from a foe whose ambition menaced the safety of our dominions.[1]

The united forces invade Ro-

On the 17th of April 1774 the united forces invaded the Rohilla dominions, and the Rohilla army,

[1] "Selections from the State Papers of the Governors-General of India (Warren Hastings)," vol. i. p. 71, edited by G. W. Forrest, C.I.E.

consisting of forty thousand, was defeated after a stern resistance. Many leading chiefs fell that day, amongst them Hafiz Rahman, who was killed whilst bravely rallying his people to battle. Rohilcund was now brought under the direct rule of Oudh. Owing to the publication of the State Papers,[1] the student of history now knows that the Afghan freebooters who had imposed their yoke on the Hindu population were not exterminated, but remained an important, turbulent, and fanatical factor in the state.

hilcund, 17th April 1774.

Rohilcund ceded to the British, 1801.

Rohilcund formed part of the territory ceded by the Nawab of Oudh to the British in 1801, and in May 1857 it was one of the principal Commissionerships of the great "North-Western Province of India." Under the Commissioner were grouped four districts, named after the towns of Bareilly, Mooradabad, Shahjehanpore, Boodayon or Budaon, and Bijnour. Bareilly, the capital of Rohilcund, situated only 152 miles from Delhi, was not only the headquarters of the Commissioner, but also the headquarters of a military brigade, which formed part of the Meerut division. Fifty years before the Mutiny there had been a formidable insurrection in the province of Rohilcund, mainly due to the Rohilla Pathans, but when the insurrection was quelled the most important of lessons was forgotten, the far-reaching moral value of the presence of a single European

[1] "Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India," edited by G. W. Forrest, C.I.E.

Disposition of the Native troops in May 1857.

regiment in an Indian division. In May 1857 there was not a single European corps in the province of Rohilcund. The troops stationed at Bareilly, a city of 100,000 inhabitants, consisted of the 18th and 68th Regiments of Native Infantry, the 8th Regiment of Irregular Cavalry, and a Native battery of artillery. At Mooradabad was posted the 29th Native Infantry, at Shahjehanpore the 28th Native Infantry, and at Budaon, which was not a military station, only a company of a sepoy regiment. Brigadier Sibbald commanded the brigade: the second in command was Colonel Colin Troup, an able and gallant soldier, who had served in the First Afghan War, and had been one of the British captives. Brigadier Sibbald was on a tour of inspection, and Colonel Troup was in command of the station of Bareilly when the outbreak at Meerut and the capture of Delhi by the mutineers became known.

The news from Meerut and Delhi arrives.

State of affairs in the Province.

The news that a Moghul emperor once more reigned in the Imperial city aroused the fanaticism and martial spirit of the Pathan Rohillas, who were mainly followers of the Prophet and had old traditions to excite them. The Hindu landlords, proud of their ancient lineage, and whose hereditary estates had been sold by order of the civil courts for petty debts to traders or native officials, thought the time had come to regain their lost possessions. The rural population, for whose welfare we had established a theoretically perfect revenue system, were ready and willing to aid their feudal chiefs, whom they continued to regard with respect and

affection. The minds of the banking classes in the province had been excited by fears of a depreciation in the Government loans and the currency, and ridiculous stories were spread abroad by the leaders and promoters of rebellion that Government was issuing leather rupees and intended to gather up all the silver of the country. The religious prejudices of the sepoys in the three military stations had been aroused in April by the statements which had come from Barrackpore of the new cartridges being greased with cows' and pigs' fat. The promoters of sedition had also sedulously spread the story that the Government intended to destroy by craft their caste by supplying *attah* or flour in which ground bones were mixed, at a low rate, for their wheaten cakes. The chupatties or cakes which were passed from village to village with the most amazing rapidity over the length and breadth of the land confirmed the suspicions of the sepoys that the Government intended by subtle craft to destroy their ancient faith. The fables of bone-dust flour and polluted wells which were so freely circulated were monstrous, and the alarm caused by them unreasonable, but Government never realised that an alarm, however unreasonable, is fraught with considerable danger in an Oriental land.

Outbreak at Mooradabad, 19th May 1857.

On the 19th of May, seven days after the outbreak at Meerut, a party of the 29th Native Infantry broke open the large jail at Mooradabad and released a number of prisoners, including a notorious villain, Nujjoo Khan, who was under

sentence of transportation for life for an attempt to murder Mr Court, joint magistrate of Budaon, in which he very nearly succeeded, having maimed him for life.[1] On the 21st of May Brigadier Sibbald, who had returned from his tour of inspection, ordered a general parade of the troops at Bareilly, and, addressing the men, "begged them to dismiss from their minds the causeless dread that pervaded them."[2] Mr Alexander, the Commissioner of Rohilcund, afterwards spoke to the native officers assembled in front of the troops, and "in the name of the Lieutenant-Governor assured them that the intentions of Government towards them were the same as they had ever been." Two days later the Brigadier wrote to Government: "The troops are evidently in a more happy and cheerful state, and as they themselves say, 'have commenced a new life!'" The Brigadier closed his despatch as follows: "From the cheerful and obedient spirit now evinced by the troops I augur the happiest results, and am convinced that should their services be required they will act as good and loyal soldiers."[3] The new life was of brief duration. On the 29th of May the Havildar-Major (the chief non-commissioned officer) of the 68th Regiment came to Colonel Troup in breathless haste, "and reported that he had been sent by the

Brigadier Sibbald orders a general parade at Bareilly.

[1] "Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion," by William Edwards, B.C.S., p. 3. Nujjoo Khan afterwards became a rebel leader of some note.

[2] Brigadier Sibbald to the Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, Bareilly, May 23rd, 1857.

[3] Ibid.

Soobadore-Major (the chief commissioned native officer) to inform me that whilst bathing at the river in the morning the men of both regiments, the 18th and 68th, had sworn to rise at 2 P.M. and murder their European officers." Colonel Troup warned the 18th and the 8th Irregular Cavalry of what he had heard. The 8th had earned the reputation of being one of the best cavalry corps in the Bengal Army. They had a few years before given a striking example of splendid discipline. The 38th Regiment of Native Infantry had refused to go to Pegu because they considered a sea voyage would destroy their caste. The 8th volunteered to cross the "black waters." They marched a thousand miles to the port of embarkation, and not a single man deserted. The commanding officer of the regiment at Bareilly was Captain Alexander Mackenzie. He had been its adjutant and its second in command, and had all the special knowledge and instincts of a partisan leader of a Bengal Native Cavalry Corps. He was rigid in discipline, but he had also the power of winning the confidence and affection of those he ruled. The native officers were men of ancient families, and were proud of their regiment and its record. Soon after Mackenzie received the message from Troup his men were in their saddles, and they "appeared in good heart and quite prepared for any emergency." The day passed quietly. On Sunday morning, the 31st, Colonel Troup was up early "and found everything quiet and still." During the morning Major Pearson, commanding the 18th, called upon

Captain Alexander Mackenzie.

Mutiny at Bareilly, 31st May 1857.

him "and assured me that his men were all right, and that he had every confidence in them. At the very moment that I knew, almost for a certainty, that within two hours his regiment would be in open mutiny."[1] Two hours later, as the regimental gongs struck eleven, the roar of guns was heard, followed by the rattle of musketry. Loud yells came from every direction, and flames soon rose from the burning bungalows. Brigadier Sibbald, on hearing the first discharge of the battery guns, mounted his horse and rode towards the cavalry lines, attended by two mounted orderlies. On the way he was shot in the chest: the brave old soldier rode on till he reached the appointed rendezvous, a camel-shed in the cavalry lines, when he dropped dead. Lieutenant Tucker had mounted his horse and was on the point of starting when Sergeant Jennings, whose pony had been shot, asked for his assistance. Tucker said, "You hold my horse's tail or the stirrup and run along." They had not gone far when a ball entered the back of poor Tucker's head and came out of the forehead. He fell dead, the sergeant being covered with blood. He thereupon mounted the dead man's horse, and it is miraculous how he escaped through the heavy fire, for one ball shattered the pommel of his saddle, and another went through the upper part of his horse's neck, which threw him down and caused the loss of his cap. Mr Alexander, the Commissioner, Colonel Troup, and several civil and military officers reached the

Death of Brigadier Sibbald.

[1] "Annals of the Indian Rebellion," p. 310.

cavalry lines in safety. After waiting some considerable time for the troopers to assemble, "during which the work of murder and destruction was being carried on by the mutineers,"[1] they all reluctantly agreed to retire on Nynee Tal. Colonel Troup, who was now in command, seeing that some of the cavalry had now formed up, told them to follow him, "which they appeared to do readily enough." It was the right wing of the corps. Mackenzie had also been informed that morning by one of the native officers that some of his troop while bathing had heard sepoys of the 18th and 68th say that they intended to rise that day at 11 o'clock and murder every European in the town, seize the treasury, and release the prisoners in the jail. The night before the Europeans had received a warning that the Irregular Cavalry had determined to remain neutral in the impending revolt. Mackenzie did not believe in the entire accuracy of the native officer's story, but he determined to be on his guard. He sent orders to the native officers commanding troops to have their men ready to turn out at a moment's notice. He and his adjutant, Lieutenant Becher, and Surgeon Currie put on their uniforms and had their horses saddled. No sooner had this been done when the Brigade-Major, Captain Brownlow, arrived with the information that the mutiny had begun. The sounds that came from the infantry lines confirmed the story. Mackenzie and Becher at once rode down to the cavalry lines to turn out the men. The right wing

[1] "Annals of the Indian Rebellion," p. 310.

obeyed at once and drew up in front of their quarters: the left wing for a long time failed to move. Mackenzie went among them, and had turned them out and was forming them up when he perceived the right wing was in motion. He rode after them, and on overtaking them, halted them, and said to Colonel Troup "that the men wished to have a crack at the mutineers, to which I replied, I do not think it is any use, but just do as you please."[1] Colonel Troup, from the information he had received, had lost all faith in the goodwill of the cavalry. Mackenzie clung to his belief in the loyalty of his men. He told the right wing that he was going to take them to recover the guns. Accompanied by Mr Grant, the magistrate, and some officers, Mackenzie rode at the head of his men to the parade. He found to his surprise the left wing of his regiment drawn up side by side with the infantry. Leaving his right wing under the charge of Becher, he at once rode up to them and spoke to them. The words of their gallant commander began to tell on them. A slight movement was noticed. There arose from the ranks of the infantry a loud cry calling on them to be true to their religion. A green flag, the symbol of the Moslem faith, was hoisted, and the two wings ranged themselves around the banner. To stay any longer would have been an act of folly. Mackenzie and Becher, accompanied by twenty-three of his men, rode off and overtook the party of surviving Europeans who were on their way to Nynee Tal. "Thank God,"

[1] Colonel Troup's Account of the Mutiny at Bareilly.

said Troup to Mackenzie, as the latter rode up, "I feared you had gone to certain death." For sixty-two miles they rode on without a halt in the scorching month of June, and Nynee Tal was safely reached. Among the twenty-three faithful troopers who accompanied Mackenzie, twelve were native officers. Muhammad Nazeer Khan, a native officer, was told by Mackenzie to go back and look after his three motherless boys who were left in the regimental lines. The old soldier grasped the hand of his commander and with tears in his eyes said, "No, I will go with you and do my duty."[1]

Noble conduct of Muhammad Nazeer Khan.

As soon as the Europeans left Bareilly the sepoys burned and looted their bungalows. The jailer and his guard released the prisoners, some four thousand in number, who plundered the shops of the wealthy Hindus. Bakht Khan, the Subahdar of artillery, assumed the title of Brigadier, and drove every evening in the carriage of the murdered Brigadier, escorted by a large staff. Khan Bahadur Khan, "a venerable man of dignified manners and considerable ability, much respected by both Europeans and natives," was proclaimed Viceroy of Rohilcund. He was a pensioner of Government in his double capacity as representative of Hafiz Rehmet Khan and also as a retired Principal Sudder Ameen or native judge. He was an old servant of the Government. He had loudly proclaimed his indignation at the conduct of the Delhi mutineers,

Khan Bahadur Khan proclaimed Viceroy of Rohilcund.

[1] The children did not perish, but suffered much from poverty and neglect.—Raikes's "Revolt," p. 155.

and he was therefore considered by the Commissioner and Collector as absolutely loyal, a man whose interests were those of the Government, and he was daily closeted with them as a counsellor in their discussion regarding the state of affairs. The evidence to be found in the Records leaves no doubt that at the time he was the chief instrument in fomenting rebellion. When he was proclaimed Viceroy his first act was to order that every European, and every native who sheltered a European, should be put to death. A rigorous search was made, and all the Europeans — men, women, and children — who had not quitted the station were murdered. Some, before being slain, were brought before Khan Bahadur Khan, but in his captives there burned the spirit of Englishmen, and they told him that he might slay them, but he could not destroy their nation. The final victory would be theirs.

Murder of all the Europeans —men, women, and children.

Mutiny at Shahjehanpore, 31st May 1857.

At Shahjehanpore, forty miles from Bareilly, was stationed the 28th Native Infantry. On Sunday, the 31st of May, taking advantage of the majority of their officers and the European residents being at morning service, they broke into sudden revolt and made a rush for the church. The chaplain hearing the tumult went out to meet them. He was at once attacked, but made his escape with the loss of his hand, severed by a sword-stroke.[1] Mr

Attack the English Church.

[1] The chaplain (the Rev. Mr M'Callum), severely wounded as he was, hid himself in the river with a writer, Mr Smith. The latter, towards the evening, went to the house of Mr Ricketts, was there found by the sepoys, and murdered. "The chaplain seeing men weeding in the fields thought that they might be induced to help him. He accord-

Ricketts, the magistrate, also received a sword-cut whilst he was attempting to escape, and was hacked to pieces a few yards from the vestry door. At the time the murderers were attacking the church, the sepoys in the cantonments were setting fire to the bungalows, and slaying every European they could discover. Captain James, in temporary command of the 28th, was shot on the parade whilst endeavouring to reason with his men. The assistant magistrate was killed in the verandah of his office, whither he had fled for refuge. "Dr Bowling had been allowed to visit the hospital unmolested, but on his return, after the commencement of the outbreak, and when he was endeavouring to escape with his wife, child, and a European servant, he was shot by the sepoys. He was seated on the coach-box, and fell rolling to the ground." His wife, though wounded, joined the fugitives in the church. They had sought refuge in the vestry and tower, shutting the doors behind them. The sepoys, armed only with swords and heavy sticks, finding all their efforts to burst them open were in vain, withdrew to their lines. Soon after, their domestic servants, faithful to the last, brought their masters their guns and rifles. The party also found outside the church their horses and

Slaughter in the cantonments.

ingly left his hiding-place, and offered them money if they would assist him in reaching some place of safety. No sooner did they see the money than they rushed upon the unfortunate man with their sticks, and knocking him down, commenced beating him to death. His cries attracted the attention of a Pathan in a neighbouring village, who, armed with a sword, rushed up and severed his head from his body." —"Annals of the Indian Rebellion," p. 356.

carriages, and a hundred sepoys, mostly Sikhs, willing to protect them. They determined to make their way to Powaen, the residence of a rajah. On their arrival he sheltered them for the night, but fearing that he would be unable to protect them, sent them away in the morning. On Monday, about 12 noon, "weary and with naked feet did they with much difficulty and toil reach" Mohumdee in Oudh. There they found another party of Europeans. About half-past five P.M. on Thursday, the sepoys having taken a solemn oath not to molest them, they left Mohumdee. As many of the ladies as it could hold were put in a buggy, the rest on the baggage carts. After marching for five hours they halted for the night, and as the light began to spread over the brown earth they started again and proceeded towards Aurungabad. When they had gone about four miles the halt was sounded. A trooper told the party that they might continue their march wherever they liked. On they pushed. They had gone some distance when, looking round, they saw a body of sepoys following them. Grave fears disquieted them. Were their guard going to be their executioners. Rapid were the fluctuations of hope and despair. They pushed on as fast as they could go. But when they were within a mile of their goal they were overtaken. Shots began to be fired from all directions, amidst the most fearful yells. The fugitives collected under a tree. The women and four little children were taken down from the buggy. "The poor ladies all joined in prayer,

The fugitives reach Mohumdee, in Oudh.

coolly and undauntingly awaiting their fate."[1] Here are the words of an eyewitness: "I was about 300 yards off at the utmost. Poor Lysaght was kneeling out in the open ground, with his hands folded across his chest, and, though not using his firearms, the cowardly wretches would not go up to him till they shot him; and then rushing up, they killed the wounded and the children, butchering them in the most cruel way. With the exception of the drummer boy, every one was killed of the above list, and besides, poor good Thomason and one or two clerks. They denuded the bodies of their clothes for the sake of plunder." It was deeds of this nature that made the British soldiers instruments of vengeance, terrible as death, relentless as doom.

Soon after the outbreak at Meerut the spirit of disorder began to show itself in the district of Budaon, which was south-west of the Bareilly district. "Bands of marauders sprang up, as it were by magic, and commenced plundering on the roads and sacking and burning villages." Mr William Edwards, magistrate and collector, was the sole European officer in a district with a population of nearly a million inhabitants. His only assistant was a Muhammadan deputy-collector. "The nearest European officers were at Bareilly, some thirty miles distant from Budaon."[2]

Disorder at Budaon.

[1] "An Account of the Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Richard Gubbins, p. 125.

[2] "Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion," by William Edwards, Esq., B.C.S., p. 4.

Edwards was an able man, who had been Under-Secretary in the Foreign Department, and not being in any way responsible for the revenue settlement of the province, was an impartial judge of its operation. He knew that it had created considerable discontent among the landlords and rural population. But he was determined to maintain the dignity and authority of his office as long as it was possible. He doubled the police force in his district, horse and foot, on his own responsibility. In spite of all his efforts the disorders increased in the districts, but owing to the tact and courage of a single European official there was no outbreak in the town. Twelve days passed; "I felt my isolation greatly." His wife and child he had sent to Nynee Tal for safety. On the 25th of May, he saw, with no small joy, his cousin Alfred Phillips ride up to his house, escorted by half a dozen horsemen. Phillips was the magistrate of the district of Etah across the Ganges, immediately opposite to Budaon. He had ridden across the river with the view of going to Bareilly to procure some military aid to put down the disturbances in the district under his charge. "I was forced to disabuse him of this hope, informing him that I had already myself more than once applied for aid in vain, as none could be spared." On Sunday, the 31st, at 9 P.M., Edwards received an express from the Commissioner, containing the welcome information that a company of native infantry under a European officer was to start that day from Bareilly to his assistance. He at

once sent a sowar with a note to meet the commanding officer. At 3 A.M. (June 1) the trooper returned, his horse much blown, and told them what had occurred at Bareilly on Sunday morning. A large number of the convicts released from that station were now within ten miles of the town. A detachment of the mutineers was also marching towards Budaon, and they intended to join the treasury guard, composed of one hundred men of the 68th Native Infantry, and to plunder and burn the station. Edwards at once told Phillips the alarming news. He immediately mounted his horse, and with his small escort dashed off at full gallop in order to reach the fords across the Ganges before the convicts or rebels could close the road and prevent him from reaching Etah. Edwards was sorely tempted to make at the same time his escape from Budaon. He knew he was in desperate case, but he considered it his duty "to stick to the ship as long as she floated." "I went," he says, "into my room and prayed earnestly that God would protect and guide me, and enable me to do my duty. I then summoned my kotwal[1] and arranged with him as best we could for maintaining the peace of the town." About 10 A.M. Mr Donald and his son, indigo planters in the district, Mr Gibson, a subordinate in the customs

[1] "Cotwal (*kotwāl*), a police-officer, superintendent of police. The office of Kotwal in Western and Southern India, technically speaking, ceased about 1862. . . . It is still in use in the North-West Provinces to designate the chief police-officer of one of the larger cities or cantonments."—Yule and Burnell, "Hobson-Jobson," new edition, edited by Wm. Crooke.

department, and Mr Stewart, a Eurasian clerk, his wife and family, sought protection in Mr Edwards' house. That evening the company of the 68th Native Infantry broke into open mutiny, plundered the treasury, and released some 300 prisoners confined in the jail. The convicts rushed towards the magistrate's house, hooting and yelling. When Edwards heard the distant roar he knew the work of destruction had begun: at the same moment he heard that the mutineers from Bareilly were entering the station and that the police had thrown away their badges and joined them. The ship had sunk. Edwards mounted his horse, which had been standing saddled all day, and, accompanied by a faithful Afghan servant and his orderly, Wuzeer Singh, a devoted Sikh who never deserted him in all his wanderings and trials, he rode away from "that peaceful happy home." He was followed by the two Donalds and Gibson. Deserting the highroad, they rode through byways and fields to avoid pursuit, guided by a friendly native landlord. On the morning of the 2nd of June they crossed the Ganges and rode on to an old fort about two miles inland. "The owner, a Mahomedan gentleman of some influence, received us very kindly and assigned us a room, where we were sheltered from the heat, by this time become intense." He informed them that Phillips was at a place called Puttealee, only eight miles off, and had with him Captain Bramley and a large body of troopers. That evening they joined Phillips and Bramley, but found they had only a few horse-

Outbreak at Budaon.

Edwards, the two Donalds, and Gibson leave the station.

men with them. On the evening of the 5th, as soon as the moon rose, they started for Agra. When the dawn had hardly broken they found shelter in an old fort, but they learnt that the road in front of them was completely blocked by a large body of mutineers. The zemindar, when he heard of their arrival, insisted on their leaving his fort, which he feared would be attacked by the mutineers as soon as they heard of Europeans being in it. They now determined striking through the jungles and by-paths to return to Puttealee. The troopers with them having become insolent, they told them that their services were no longer required and they might go where they liked. "The attitude of these fellows became at this moment most threatening; they seemed just wavering as to whether they would charge down upon and destroy us or go off and leave us. They consulted together for a moment—one of breathless suspense to us—and then, to our great relief, suddenly turned about and rode off."[1] At six in the morning they began their return march, and it was noon when, "completely exhausted by the terrific heat and dust," they came upon a small hamlet. "There an old soldier, a pensioner of our Government, who had served in Afghanistan, greatly commiserated our position, and in answer to our request for water brought us milk and chupatties, which were most acceptable in our fainting state. We rested here for an hour, and on going away I offered the old man a little money in

Kindness of a pensioned sepoy.

[1] "Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion," by William Edwards, Esq., B.C.S., pp. 36, 37.

return for his hospitality. He flatly refused to receive it, saying, with apparently real sorrow, 'You are in far greater need than I am now, who have a home, whereas you are wanderers in the jungles; but if ever your raj is restored, remember me and the little service I have been able to render you.'"[1] They reached Puttealee at nightfall, "having been continuously in the saddle for twenty hours." It was now decreed that Phillips and Bramley should make another attempt to reach Agra, while Edwards and his party should endeavour to get back to Budaon and make their way through the districts to the hills. A zemindar, however, convinced Edwards that the attempt to reach Budaon was hopeless, and some friendly guides put them on the direct road to Futtehghur. At Shumshabad, near the Ganges, they found quarters in a bungalow belonging to the petty chief. But when their presence became known, it was surrounded by a mob, who opened fire with wild halloo. Edwards, revolver in hand, put his horse straight at the crowd, and they opened right and left. The two Donalds also escaped, but Gibson was killed. "I shall never forget his look of agony as he was ineffectually trying to defend himself from the ruffians who were surrounding him." Multan Khan, "a fine powerful Pathan, between forty and fifty years of age," a relative of the Chief, commanded a small party of troopers which the Nawab had given them as an escort.

Edwards and his party make for Futtehghur.

Gibson killed.

[1] "Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion," by William Edwards, Esq., B.C.S., p. 37.

Edwards observed that Multan Khan and his men were by no means pleased that they had escaped from the crowd. Their attitude became most threatening. Edwards rode up to Multan Khan and said to him, "'Have you a family and little children?' He answered by a nod. 'And are they not dependent on you for their bread?' I asked. He replied, 'Yes.' 'Well,' I said, 'so have I, and I am confident you are not the man to take my life and destroy their means of support.' He looked at me for a moment, and then said, 'I will save your life if I can; follow me.' He immediately turned and set off at a gallop, and we followed him."[1] Multan Khan.

Multan Khan took them by a circuitous cross-country route back to a considerable Pathan village where there was a Government tahseeldaree.[2] The tahseeldar "was a frail old man, but, as we afterwards discovered, with a noble heart, for, under Providence, he was the chief instrument in saving our lives at this place." He brought them native clothes in which they were to disguise themselves. "We were dressed in the Nawab's clothes; every article of our own dress, down to our boots, being burnt in our presence to destroy all traces of us in the house. I only contrived to save my Testament and my darling May's purse; from which, however, I had to cut off the silver rings and tassels, lest The fugitives disguise themselves in native clothes.

[1] "Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion," by William Edwards, Esq., B.C.S., p. 53.

[2] "Tahseeldaree (*tahsīldārī*), a district under the jurisdiction of a *tahsīldar* or native collector of revenue."—Wilson, "Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms."

they should attract notice. I put these, with my ring and watch, which the old tahseeldar returned to me, in my waist-belt."[1] When all was ready, "and our turbans, the most difficult part of our costume to arrange, put on, they descended to the courtyard, where their horses and two guides were ready. The Nawab dismissed us very kindly, saying to me, 'You make a very good Pathan in this dress; but mind, never venture to speak, or you will be at once discovered; the other two may speak, for they are country born, and have the native accent.'"[2]

After galloping for some miles through fields and through by-lanes, they approached two villages close to each other, and between which they had to pass. "The one on the right was in flames, and surrounded by a band of marauders, who were busily engaged in plundering it. As we came on at full speed the fellows caught sight of us when within about a mile of the village. They raised a tremendous shout, and commenced rushing to a point where they hoped to be able to cut us off.

They ride for their lives.

Then we did ride for our lives; our guide leading us with admirable decision and sagacity. It was a most exciting race for about fifteen minutes."[3] They cleared the mob with about two hundred yards to spare. After a ride of twenty-four miles

Futtehghur reached.

they reached Futtehghur, the capital of the Furruckabad District, the following morning, and were

[1] "Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion," by William Edwards, Esq., B.C.S., p. 57.

[2] Ibid., p. 58.

[3] Ibid., p. 68.

warmly welcomed by Mr Probyn, the collector and magistrate. He told them that the 10th Native Infantry had already mutinied and threatened their officers: they were at the moment quiet, but could not be trusted. Europeans were leaving the place. Some forty, including his wife and children, had taken refuge in a fort at Dhurumpore, across the Ganges, in Oudh. Probyn had advised early in May that the fort at Futtehghur should be provisioned and manned by pensioners, but his advice had not been taken. The officers held to their belief in the loyalty of the men. Convinced that the 10th Native Infantry would do what they had said they would do, murder all the Europeans in the station except their officers, as soon as another corps arrived, Probyn, accompanied by Edwards and his party, joined the fugitives at Dhurumpore. On the 16th of June the 41st Native Infantry, who had mutinied and massacred their officers at Seetapore in Oudh, arrived on the banks of the Ganges opposite Furruckabad, and the 10th Native Infantry mutinied. The next day the alarm was given that the mutineers had crossed the Ganges and were marching towards Dhurumpore to seize the two magistrates. Hurdeo Buksh, the feudal lord, intimated to them that they must at once leave. Going up to him, Edwards seized his right arm and said that they would go at once if he would pledge his honour as a Rajput for their safety. This he at once did. "My blood first shall be shed before a hair of your heads are touched; after I am gone, of course my power is

Probyn and Edwards join the fugitives at Dhurumpore.

Hurdeo Buksh pledges his honour for their safety.

at an end, I can help you no longer." They gathered together their bedding, and a few things, and started down the road, "one mass of mud and water," leading to Ramgunge. After crossing the river, they walked two miles, and reached the village of Kussowrah. A cattle-shed was the only quarters the miserable hamlet could afford them. Here they remained undisturbed until the 20th of June, when they were startled by hearing the sound of shotted guns. The fort of Futtehghur was being besieged. Long days were passed "listening attentively to every shot, pacing up and down the narrow space allotted to us, and not daring to exchange a word." Then a messenger brought them evil tidings. The fort had been taken by the mutineers, and their friends had been massacred while drifting down the Ganges. Hurdeo Buksh came to them one night and told them that the sepoys knew that they were living under his protection, that the Nawab of Furruckabad demanded the heads of the two magistrates. He would never break his word, but he advised them "to go into hiding in one of his villages, situated about twenty miles distant, in a very desolate part of the country, and immediately on the bank of the Ganges." They again set forth. "An elephant had been procured for Mrs Probyn, her ayah, and the children. Probyn and one servant (the other had absconded the night before), and I and Wuzeer Singh walked." After proceeding about a mile in torrents of rain, they came to a stream so deep that the elephant could not wade across, and had to be sent back. They were ferried

The village of Kussowrah.

across, and then proceeded on foot, each carrying a child. Just as the lights of dawn struggled through the sheets of rain, they reached their destination, "a solitary hamlet" called Runjepoorah (the place of affliction), inhabited by a few herdsmen and their cattle. A wretched hovel was pointed out as the future residence of the Probyns. "It was full of cattle and very filthy: the mud and dirt were over our ankles, and the effluvia stifling." A small room on the roof of one of the huts was discovered, and they took possession of it. They were closely packed. "We could only get out at night; and during the day the only relief we had was to turn on our backs, or from one side to the other, or sit up: standing or moving about was quite impossible." Leakage rendered the room more cramped. Edwards had to rent a "small miserable hovel, in which two cows had hitherto been stalled." The herdsmen used to come and visit him, and have a talk. He discovered one of them was a traveller. He had been attached to the English commissariat during the first Sutlej Campaign, and had gone as far as Lahore. Edwards got him to promise that he would take a letter to his wife at Nynee Tal. He had only a small scrap of paper, "half the fly-leaf of Brydges on the 119th Psalm," and the stump of a lead-pencil. When the note was written he dipped it in milk, and set it out to dry in the sun. In an instant a crow pounced on it and carried it off. "I, of course, thought it was gone for ever, and felt heart-broken with vexation; as I had no more paper, nor any means or hope of

Runjepoorah (the place of affliction).

getting any, on which to write another note. Wuzeer Singh had, unknown to me, seen the crow, followed it with one of the herdsmen, and after a long chase of about an hour, saw the bird drop it, and recovering it brought it back to me uninjured." [1]

Return to Kussowrah.

On July 26th they returned to Kussowrah. Their old quarters in the cow-house were luxurious and commodious compared with the hovel at "the village of affliction." The heat was terrible, and they were tormented by myriads of flies. The "poor baby" died, and after much difficulty they found a dry spot under some trees, where they laid him. Soon after his little sister followed him. Edwards was yearning for news of his own bairn. A month had passed since he had sent a messenger through Budaon to Nynee Tal. Sunday, August 2nd, was the darkest day of sorrow. The messenger returned in a miserable plight. He had been seized at Budaon; the letter had been taken from him; he had been beaten and at once thrown into prison, where he was kept for some days and treated with the utmost severity. Sorrow for his own bitter disappointment was mingled with deep grief at the reports of the massacre of friends which reached them. They knew not when the same fate might overtake them. That Sunday the fugitives assembled for "our morning service." It was "one of peculiar solemnity." The words of the Litany refreshed the heavy-laden, and strengthened their dependence upon God. They

[1] "Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion," by William Edwards, Esq., B.C.S., p. 121.

remembered that thousands were praying that day, "That it might please God to succour, help, and comfort all that are in danger, necessity, and tribulation," and they felt a confident persuasion that "we would yet be saved and be reunited to our people." Two days later the villager which he had sent from Runjepoorah to Nynee Tal brought Edwards a letter from his wife. "Rohna had seen both her and Gracey quite well. He told me that she was dressed in black when he reached the house, and that when she received my letter she had gone away and put on a white dress." The wife and child were well, but the hope of joining them grew fainter, and moods of despondency swept over him. But through the dark clouds there came rays of light. Mrs Probyn had a Bible, and from the Psalms they derived hope and comfort. "This morning," he writes on the 5th of August, "I derived unspeakable comfort from the 13th and 16th verses of the 25th Psalm ('The secret of the Lord is among them that fear Him: and he will show them his covenant,' and 'The sorrows of my heart are enlarged: O bring thou me out of my troubles'), and in the evening from the 14th, 15th, and 16th verses of the 27th ('O tarry thou the Lord's leisure; be strong, and he shall comfort thine heart; and put thou thy trust in the Lord')."[1] The days slowly passed. "In the morning we feel inclined to say, would

The Psalms.

[1] In the Bible version Psalm 27 has only 14 verses. Edwards states they had only a Bible and Testament. But they must have had a Prayer-Book, as Edwards here mentions the Prayer-Book version of the Psalms, and also states they had morning services, and the Litany.

God it were evening; and in the evening, would God it were morning." Night brought little rest, and myriads of mosquitoes rendered sleep almost impossible. Depression of mind and body followed each sleepless night. On the 13th of August Edwards enters in his diary, "It is at such times I feel the real blessing the Psalms are. They never fail to give peace and refreshment, when all is dark and gloomy within and without. . . . This morning I felt the 5th verse of the 68th Psalm ('He is a Father of the fatherless, and defendeth the cause of the widows: even God in his holy habitation') most soothing, in the assurance it gives me that if I am cut off, my God will be with my widow and fatherless children." On the 20th of August there came from Cawnpore a trusty messenger with glad tidings. He had accompanied Havelock's servants, and seen the rebels routed with much slaughter. Hurdeo Buksh was now "in high spirits in consequence of Havelock's successful advance, and the intelligence which had reached him of reinforcements pouring into Cawnpore." The fugitives now began to make plans for floating down the Ganges to Cawnpore. But a messenger from Havelock "advised us strongly against attempting the river route; maintaining that at several points on the banks on both sides, to his certain knowledge, the enemy were posted in force with guns which, of course, we could never pass." They were again plunged into the Slough of Despond. "All that we can do is, like Ezra, with earnest prayer to seek of our God 'a right

Glad tidings.

way for us and for our little ones.'"[1] On August 27th Edwards writes, "Nothing new settled about our plans, and we are much harassed. Heavy guns firing in Furruckabad to-day, we know not from what cause; but they reminded us painfully of our fearful proximity to that place where are so many thirsting for our lives. Amidst it all, to-day's Psalms most consoling, and wonderfully suited to our case, especially the 121st ('I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills: from whence cometh my help')."

Voyage down the Ganges.

On the third day, as the lights of dawn were rising above the broad river, the party embarked. They had with them eleven matchlock-men as a guard and eight sowars, all under the command of Hurdeo Buksh's brother-in-law. Seeta Ram, the "poor Brahmin who had shown us much kindness and sympathy, depriving his own family of milk to give it to Probyn's children," and Rohna, the faithful villager, who had carried messages to Nynee Tal, accompanied the party. One of the Kussowrah Thakoors[2] also went with them. Many were the dangers they encountered during a voyage of 150 miles through a country swarming with rebels, but the tact and fidelity of the natives who accompanied them and the promptness and pluck of the

[1] Ezra viii. 21.

[2] Thakoor (*thakur*), from Skt. *thakkura*, "an idol, a deity," used as a term of respect, but with a variety of special appellations, of which the most familiar is as the style of Rajpūt nobles. It is also in some parts the honorific designation of a barber, sweeper, &c. In Bengal it is the name of a Brahman family.—See Yule and Burnell, "Hobson-Jobson," new edition, edited by Wm. Crooke.

gallant old chief, Dhunna Singh, who left his fort to guide them, carried them through all their perils. About 2 P.M. on the 31st of August they landed at Cawnpore. "A picket of Her Majesty's 84th Regiment was on duty at the Ghaut." After three months of hourly suspense and danger, they were safe.

Mutiny at Mooradabad.

Three days after the sepoys at Budaon mutinied the men of the 29th Native Infantry stationed at Mooradabad rose and plundered the Treasury. Cracroft Wilson, the judge, a scholar well acquainted with the people and their vulgar tongue, an administrator of inflexible will, had obtained a strong influence over the sepoys by publicly haranguing them and conversing familiarly with them in their lines. For two weeks after the outbreak at Meerut and their attack on the Treasury he kept them from further acts of violence. But when news came of the mutiny and massacre at Bareilly he could no longer contend against the lust for plunder. It was, however, mainly due to him that no tragic excesses were committed. Several native officers who were on leave at Mooradabad volunteered to escort the Europeans to Meerut. The offer was accepted and the promise fulfilled.

After the regiments in the three great military stations in Rohilcund had mutinied and murdered or driven out their officers, they united and marched to Delhi. Urgent summons had been sent to them to come to the aid "of the King of Delhi."[1] On

[1] From the officers of the Army at Delhi to the officers of the Bareilly and Mooradabad Regiments.—"If you are coming to help us, it is in-

the 1st and 2nd July the spectators from the camp at Delhi posted on the ridge saw them marching across the bridge of boats into the Imperial city.[1]

Anarchy in Rohilcund.

Khan Bahadur Khan had persuaded the sepoys to march to Delhi in the hope of strengthening his power. But he was not capable of wielding power. Anarchy swiftly spread throughout the province. The Muhammadans robbed and murdered the Hindus. The old custom of exposing heads on poles at the entrance of a town was revived. The ancient practice of mutilation again came in vogue. A native witness states: "Villages were being burnt and plundered daily; the roads deserted, and no man's life or property was safe for a moment." The peasants then began to ask when the British raj would be restored. A terrible year of suffering drove through, and the time came for England to again bestow on the inhabitants of Rohilcund the equal and impartial protection of the law.

cumbent on you that if you eat your food there you wash your hands here, for here the fight is going on with the English; and by the goodness of God even one defeat to us is ten to them, and our troops are assembled here in large numbers. It is now necessary for you to come here; for large rewards will be conferred by the king of kings, the centre of prosperity, the King of Delhi. We are looking out most anxiously for you, like fasters watching for the call of the *muezzin* [the signal that the fast is ended].

'Come, come for there is no rose
Without the spring of your presence,
The opening bud with drought
Is an infant without milk.' "

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 96.

CHAPTER XI.

Lord Canning's new policy in Oudh.

As soon as the siege of Lucknow had opened and the capture of the great city was merely a matter of time, Lord Canning addressed himself to the complicated and intricate task of laying the foundation of a new civil policy in Oudh. The Talookdars, or Barons, of that kingdom had been treated with injustice in certain divisions—but not to the extent which had been painted,—and they had, with a few exceptions, gone against us; the majority of the zemindars, or inferior village landowners, were passive, but a minority had yielded to the solicitations of the rebel chiefs. Lord Canning had discovered that owing to the land settlement having been "carried into execution in some districts with undue haste and upon insufficient evidence," wrong had been done, but he also realised that to remedy the wrong and to adjudicate the rights of the Talookdars were tasks which would be attended with enormous difficulties. He could not admit that there was a shade of doubt as to the lawfulness of the British annexation of Oudh, and he could not condone rebellion by re-establishing the Talookdars in privileges which before the Mutiny the British Government had declared to be unjust and inadmissible. They had been guilty of the great crime of rebellion, and had subjected them-

selves to a just retribution. In order to maintain the lustre of British supremacy punishment must precede any healing policy, and the confiscation of property was a just penalty. But the punishment was not to be permanent, except in the case of those who persisted in rebellion after life and honour had been guaranteed. Lord Canning was undoubtedly in earnest in wishing to restore their property to those who promptly submitted, to remedy the injustice done to them in the past, and to try to set an effective check on future wrong by issuing to them full grants. These were the objects he had in view when he drafted the famous Proclamation, a copy of which was forwarded to Outram on the 3rd of March 1858, "to be issued by the Chief Commissioner at Lucknow as soon as the British troops under his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief shall have possession or command of the city." The Proclamation declared that the loyal owners of six specially exempted estates "are henceforward the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands which they held when Oudh came into British possession, subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them, and that these loyal men will be further rewarded in such manner and to such extent as upon consideration of their merits and their position the Governor-General shall determine." But these six chiefs were not the only men whose steadfast allegiance was to be rewarded. "A proportionate measure of reward and honour, according to their deserts, will be conferred upon others in whose favour like claims may be established to

Lord Canning's Proclamation.

the satisfaction of Government." The manifesto proceeds: "The Governor-General further proclaims to the people of Oudh that, with the above-mentioned exceptions, the proprietary rights in the soil of the province is confiscated to the British Government, which will dispose of that right in such manner as it may seem fitting." To land-owners who should make immediate surrender their lives and honours were secured, provided that "their hands were unstained with English blood murderously shed." For further indulgence "they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British Government. Sir James Outram, as Chief Commissioner of Oudh, remonstrated against the policy of the Proclamation as too severe, and that it would drive the landlords to desperate and prolonged resistance." In deference to his opinion, Lord Canning added the following sentence to the Proclamation: "To those among them who shall promptly come forward and give to the Chief Commissioner their support in the restoration of peace and order this indulgence will be large, and the Governor-General will be ready to view liberally the claims which they may thus acquire to a restitution of their former rights." It was thus made clear, as Lord Canning wrote, that though confiscation of proprietary right in the soil was the general penalty, restitution of it was the reward for coming in and behaving well.[1] Some of the chiefs accepted overtures to come in, and

[1] "Life of the Second Earl Granville," by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, vol. i. p. 296.

negotiated on the subject, but soon after they became suspicious and returned to their estates. Oudh had been annexed. It had now to be conquered.

Sir Colin Campbell, having arranged for the permanent occupation and defence of Lucknow by a series of strong fortifications, and having constituted the Lucknow Field Force, a powerful and efficient body of troops, to garrison the city and to keep in check the rebels who swarmed in the neighbourhood,[1] had about ten thousand men available for other service. The question arose, What was the best manner of employing them? On the 24th of March he wrote to Lord Canning: "It seems that there are two modes of making use of these troops—the one being to employ them in the province of Oudh in the support of the central position of Lucknow, the other being the prosecution of operations beyond the limits of the province, in Rohilcund. In favour of the latter—viz., Rohilcund—it may be said that great anxiety exists for its occupation. Those best acquainted with it allege that this can be effected with but little risk; but they admit that it requires combined operations from different quarters, and a considerable body of troops. It may there-

Sir Colin Campbell's letter to Lord Canning, 24th March 1858.

[1] It comprised three troops of horse artillery, three light field-batteries, three garrison batteries with siege-train, a company Royal Engineers, a company Madras Sappers, three companies Punjab Sappers, the Delhi Pioneers; 2nd Dragoon Guards, one squadron Lahore Light Horse, 1st Light Cavalry, Hodson's Horse, 7th Hussars; 20th Foot, 23rd Fusiliers, 38th Foot, 53rd Foot, 90th Light Infantry, 2nd and 3rd battalions Rifle Brigade, 1st Bengal Fusiliers, 1st Madras Fusiliers, 3rd Punjab Infantry, and Ferozepore Regiment.

fore be taken for granted that all the regiments held to be available, after the mere garrison of Lucknow had been provided for, would be demanded for such an operation, the more particularly as to proceed against Bareilly would involve a siege. The province of Oudh being still in a state of active rebellion, it becomes a matter of doubt whether any mere garrison could take care of itself — that is to say, whether it might not be liable to be blockaded and cut off from supplies, unless the country within a certain radius be thoroughly reduced and held. To do this effectually will demand the occupation of certain points of strategic importance as regards Lucknow. The bodies holding such points should consist of a brigade of infantry, with artillery and cavalry in proportion. While holding the points, these columns, kept in a movable state, would have to reduce the country in their own neighbourhood, to raze every fort to the ground, and disarm the population—most perfect communications being at the same time maintained with the capital. As the process became more and more complete, the distance from the capital would be increased; while at the same time opportunity would be afforded to the civil authority for the institution of a police, or of other military levies, which in the coming autumn would be able to hold the country with a reduced European force, as compared with that which is now deemed necessary. I venture to submit to your lordship that experience gained during the last six weeks has led

me to entertain the plan I have put forward."[1] He proceeded to give instances showing that "whenever our columns have marched they have literally walked over the insurgent bodies; but that, directly they had passed, the rebels again formed in their rear, cut off their communications, and intercepted their supplies." In point of fact, until the country was thoroughly reduced the enemy would be as formidable after he had been beaten as before. It would be hazardous to trust the reduction to one movable column, which it might be possible to detach from the garrison. There was the danger of large numbers of the rebels entering the vast mass of bazaars and annoying the garrison. "They would be expelled, but the expulsion would always cost much valuable life to our own soldiers, besides destroying the peace and welfare of the inhabitants." Taking all these circumstances into consideration, Sir Colin held that "it is more expedient to be satisfied with the affirmation of real authority without delay in this province, than to attempt another operation in Rohilcund without leaving means behind to ensure the former. I would prefer, therefore, to shut in Rohilcund during the next four or five months, which would allow time for the organisation of Oudh. It would then be possible, in all probability, to liberate a considerable number of British regiments without risk, when the same process might be repeated in

Oudh should at once be thoroughly reduced.

[1] "Life of Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., vol. ii. pp. 177, 178.

Rohilcund." It had always been intended by the Governor-General that the reconquest of Rohilcund, which was a dangerous centre of rebellion, should follow the retaking of Lucknow. He at once addressed a full and clear reply to Sir Colin: "You will perhaps remember," Lord Canning wrote, "that my opinion of the paramount importance of dealing first with Oudh was based upon the political necessity of wresting, not the province itself, but its capital from the rebels.[1] This has been done; and much as I desire to see the whole of Oudh brought under our rule again, there are considerations connected with Rohilcund which make the presence of a force within that territory urgently desirable." The main consideration which influenced Lord Canning was the state of that great province. The Mussulmans were for the most part opposed to us, the Hindoos were almost universally friendly. "Their numbers are about equal; but the Mussulmans are the more active and warlike, and for long they have been using every device and threat to bring the Hindoos into hostility towards us. The loyalty of the latter is as yet unshaken; but if we do not appear amongst them, and if we attempt no more than to hem in the province, cooping up the two parties together for four or five months, we must be prepared for one of two evil results — either the loyalty of the Hindoos will give way, whereby disaffection will take deeper root in Rohilcund itself, and perhaps spread beyond it;

Lord Canning's reply to Sir Colin.

He considers an effective movement into Rohilcund urgently desirable.

[1] See above, vol. ii. p. 253.

or they will succumb to their stronger neighbours, and we shall incur the reproach of having withheld effective aid from them throughout their need." Lord Canning added: "Whether, with the amount of force at our disposal, it is possible to combine the retention of a secure hold upon Lucknow and its communication with these provinces with an effective movement into Rohilcund, I will not pretend to say. But if it can be done, I am of opinion that we ought to do it, leaving the unreclaimed parts of Oudh and those of Rohilcund for later treatment."

Sir Colin was not convinced by the arguments put forward by Lord Canning, but he loyally accepted the Governor-General's decision, and proceeded at once to make plans for carrying out "his Lordship's views with the same earnestness as if they were my own." Meanwhile tidings had reached Sir Colin that the field force operating in the Azimghur district on the east of Oudh had experienced a great discomfiture at the hands of a body of mutineers, and that Azimghur, the chief town, only fifty-two miles from Benares, was blockaded by them. On the 29th of March a large body of troops,[1] under the command of

[1] Sir E. Lugard's force consisted of three regiments of British infantry, military train, some Sikh cavalry, detachment 4th Company R.E., and Punjab Pioneers, with half of E Troop R.H.A., under Major J. E. Mitchell; 8th-2nd, and a detachment of 5th-13th R.A., under Captain Thring; and A-3rd Madras No. 2 Battery, under Major Cotter. Two 18-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, two 8-inch and four 5½-inch mortars. Lieut.-Colonel Riddell commanded the Artillery; Major N. O. S. Turner, Staff Officer; and Captain C. F. Young, Commissary of Ordnance.—Stubbs, vol. iii. pp. 432, 433.

Sir E. Lugard, left Lucknow for Azimghur. Sir Colin Campbell now finally fixed his plan of operations. He provided strong garrison for Lucknow, and a brigade for operations in the provinces. Brigadier-General Walpole's brigade was to clear the whole of the left bank of the Ganges until he reached the frontier of Rohilcund, where he would be joined by the Commander-in-Chief from Futtehghur with such troops as could be spared from Cawnpore. Major-General Penny was to advance from Meerut through Badour and unite with the Chief at Miranpur Katra, between Shahjehanpore and Bareilly. Brigadier-General Jones, who was forming a column at Roorkee, was to invade Rohilcund from the north-west. All three columns, as soon as a proper combination of marches had established a communication between them, were to converge upon Bareilly, where it was intended the main body of the rebels should be met and decisively defeated. Major-General Seaton, commanding at Futtehghur, was to keep ward along the Ganges, where large bodies of rebels had assembled.

Sir Colin's plan of operations for the Rohilcund campaign.

On the 8th of April 1858, five days after Sir Hugh Rose had stormed and taken Jhansi, Colin Campbell left Lucknow for Allahabad, to confer with the Governor-General. Three days later he had with characteristic energy returned about midnight to camp. Meanwhile Walpole with his field force had left for Rohilcund. It consisted of the 9th Lancers, the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd Highlanders, the 4th Punjab Rifles, two

Walpole with his field force leaves for Rohilcund.

troops of horse artillery, two 18-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, nine mortars, and a few engineers and sappers. The infantry brigade was commanded by Brigadier Adrian Hope, whose gallant deed at the storming of the Shah Nujjeef we have recorded;[1] and the artillery by Major J. Brind, whose battery was worked with such effect at the siege of Delhi.[2] Walpole's march lay through rich, well-wooded country, and for the first few days he met with little obstruction from the rebels. On the 11th of April he destroyed a fort which was being constructed near Roheenadabad. On the morning of the 15th of April he marched to Madhogunge, "which almost joins Roodamow," a village about two miles from the left bank of the Ganges and fifty-one miles north-west of Lucknow. About a mile from the village was the jungle fort of Rooya, belonging to Nurput Sing, a landowner and a rebel of some repute. He had not come in or sent any satisfactory reply to the message of Captain Thurburn, the magistrate who accompanied the force. "I therefore thought it advisable to attack him," Walpole says, "particularly as Captain Thurburn informed me that he understood this man had received only the day before yesterday a letter from the Begum, and that his intentions were certainly hostile to the Government; and under these circumstances it would have had the worst effect to have passed this fort without taking it." The Brigadier-General accord-

Attack on the fort of Rooya.

[1] See above, vol. ii. p. 157; and also see pp. 337-339.
[2] Ibid., vol. i. p. 127.

ingly directed the baggage to be massed in the open plain near Madhogunge under a strong guard of cavalry, infantry, and two field-guns, and proceeded with the remainder of the force towards the fort. He states in his despatch that after he had marched about two miles he turned off the road "for the purpose of getting round to the north side of the fort, which was stated to be the weakest part of it, where there was a gate, and where there were very few guns."[1] The information was incorrect. The northern and eastern faces were strong, the western and southern were weak and incapable of offering any great defence. Walpole adds, "The fort on the east and north sides is almost surrounded with jungle, and at these two sides the only two gates were stated to be, which information proved correct. It is a large oblong, with numerous circular bastions all round it, pierced for guns and loopholed for musketry, and surrounded by a broad and deep ditch; there is an inner fort or citadel, surrounded in like manner by a deep ditch, and with a high wall considerably elevated above the rest of the work." On the west and part of the southern side there was a large piece of water, which was partially dried up. On arriving before the southern side "I sent forward," says Walpole, "some infantry in extended order to enable the place to be reconnoitred, when a heavy

[1] From Brigadier-General Walpole, Commanding the Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Camp, Madhogunge, 16th April 1858.

fire of musketry was immediately opened upon them, and an occasional gun; the cavalry at the same time swept entirely round to the west side, to cut off all communication with the fort." The charge brought against Walpole at the time was that he did not "make the slightest reconnaissance." But the Oudh forts were surrounded by a jungle which "rendered a sufficient reconnaissance difficult and often impracticable." An officer in the Highland Brigade wrote on April 23rd, 1858: "An advance-guard of Companies 1, 2, and 3 of the 42nd Royal Highlanders, with cavalry and guns, under the command of Major Wilkinson, preceded the main column, which was headed by the 42nd Royal Highlanders left in front. Firing was heard, I think about half-past nine; the fort of Rooya could be seen in some parts embosomed amid trees. No. 10 Company 42nd Royal Highlanders was ordered to go out skirmishing in front of horse artillery guns, with No. 9 in support. About 300 yards from the fort Nos. 7 and 8 were sent up to Brigadier-General Walpole in front of the guns, and were ordered by him to skirmish without support, and to advance till they came within sight of the gate of the fort, and to open fire. It was supposed by those concerned that this movement was for the purpose of preventing the rebels in the fort from escaping by the gate referred to, and that Major Wilkinson would make an attack on the weak side, and that the rebels driven before him would naturally think of leaving the fort by the gate. Act-

ing on this supposition, Captain Grove of No. 8 ordered his men to fix bayonets, so as to be ready to receive the rebels should they attempt to bolt by the way specified." On receiving the Brigadier-General's order above-mentioned, Captain Grove advanced without resistance or cover till he came to the counterscarp of the ditch of the fort, where there was a bank which afforded protection. "There was now only the breadth of the ditch between his company and the mud entrenchments of the enemy. In the course of a short time that company had one officer, two sergeants, and nine rank and file disabled. So critically alarming did this position and state of affairs become that he sent for support, which soon made its appearance in the shape of part of a Punjab regiment—in all, one hundred strong. These having formed on his left, and finding sufficient cover, rushed boldly into the ditch, attempted ineffectually to get over the parapet, and finally were obliged to retire with the loss of two officers and forty-six men killed and wounded."[1] Captain Cafe, who commanded the Punjabees, at once went to Grove and asked him for volunteers to bring in the body of Lieutenant Edward Willoughby, who had been killed in the daring attempt to scale the parapet. He was a young officer of the 10th Bombay Native Infantry, who, though on the sick-list, had left his dhooly to join in the fight.[2] "Two men of the 42nd Royal

[1] Report of Colonel Sir Henry Harness, K.C.B., R.E.

[2] He was brother of Captain Willoughby, one of the gallant nine who defended the Delhi Magazine. See above, vol. i. pp. 45-47.

Highlanders, supported by two of the 40th Punjabees (native officers I believe), went out on this most dangerous mission. In bringing in the body Captain Cafe of the Punjabees had his left arm broken, and Private Edward Spence of the 42nd Royal Highlanders received his death wound." Cafe and Thomson received the Cross of Valour.

Death of Adrian Hope.

At this moment arrived Adrian Hope. "Before he had been a minute on the perilous ground he was shot right above the left collar-bone, and as he fell he exclaimed, 'I am a dead man.'[1] After a few words he asked for water, which having drank, he became insensible, and expired without pain." Half an hour after the fall of Adrian Hope the Highlanders and Punjabees retired without any disorder and joined the rest of the force. It was now half-past two o'clock, "and as the heavy guns had made little or no impression upon the place," Walpole determined "to withdraw from the north side and commence operations against the south-east angle on the following morning, which had been reconnoitred by the engineers, and where they

[1] Walpole states in his despatch: "After a short time a great many of the infantry were killed and wounded from having crept up too near the fort, from which the fire from rifles and matchlocks was heavy. These men had gone much nearer the fort than I wished or intended them to go, and some of the Punjab Rifles with great courage, but without orders, jumped into the ditch, and were killed in endeavouring to get up the scarp. I therefore gave directions that they should be withdrawn from their forward and exposed situation, and here it was that I regret to say the gallant and able soldier, Brigadier Hope, was killed by a rifle or musket ball fired by a man from a high tree within the walls of the place."

thought it would be easier to effect a breach, as it could be better seen and more direct fire could be brought to bear."[1] Walpole therefore withdrew from the north side and pitched his camp on the south side, about a mile from the fort. It was truly a disastrous bit of work. "I regret to say," writes Walpole, "that this operation has cost us about one hundred officers and men wounded." The 42nd, who, along with the Punjabees, had borne the brunt of the enemy's fire, had fifty-one killed and wounded; two young officers mortally wounded, Lieutenants C. Douglas and Alfred Jenkins Bramley; one officer severely, Lieutenant Cockburne. The 4th Punjab, who had only five officers and one hundred and twenty men, had forty-six killed and wounded; one officer killed and two wounded. They had marched to the siege of Delhi with twelve officers and eight hundred men. The 93rd Highlanders had a few men wounded, and the 79th also a few. Lieutenant Harrington, of Major Remington's troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, was severely wounded by a musket-ball. "Among the names of those who have fallen," writes Sir Colin Campbell, "appears that of Brigadier the Honourable A. Hope. The death of this most distinguished and gallant officer causes the deepest grief to the Commander-in-Chief. Still young in years, he had risen to high command, and by his undaunted courage, combined as it was with extreme kindness and charm of manner, he had

The troops withdraw from the attack.

[1] From Brigadier-General R. Walpole, Commanding Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff, Camp, Madhogunge, 16th April 1858.

secured the confidence of his brigade to no ordinary degree. This brigade he had led in several assaults, of which the last was the attack on the Begum Kotee at the late siege of Lucknow. The service of Her Majesty could, in Sir Colin Campbell's opinion, hardly have sustained a greater loss." Lord Canning, in directing Walpole's despatch to be published, wrote: "His Lordship participates in the grief expressed by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief at the heavy loss which the British Army has sustained in the death of that most admirable officer, Brigadier the Hon'ble A. Hope, whose very brilliant services he had the gratification of publicly recognising in all the operations for the relief and the final capture of Lucknow. No more mournful duty has fallen upon the Governor-General in the course of the present contest than that of recording the premature death of this distinguished young commander."

The enemy evacuate the fort.

When morn came it was discovered that during the stillness of the night the enemy had evacuated the fort, leaving their guns behind them. That evening (16th April) the bagpipes were wailing over the dead that had died on the field of battle as they carried them to a cluster of mango trees near the camp. The graves were dug deep, the bodies then laid and covered in the ground so that no wild beast nor alien hand should disturb them. No memorial on earth remained of the brave men, but the 93rd wept to the memory of Adrian Hope, their "beloved officer," and "there was not a dry eye in Bramley's company."

Walpole resumes his march.

The next morning Walpole resumed his march. At the break of day the enemy were discovered posted in a group of villages separated by a large grove of trees. It was soon certain that they were in large numbers, and their position was one of considerable strength. The column was halted, in order that the heavy gun might be brought to the front and the infantry close up. The horse artillery and the cavalry however went ahead. When about a thousand yards from the largest village the enemy opened fire with their six guns, and sent their shot and shell among them. On they galloped together, for it was Tombs' proud boast that his light guns could go wherever the cavalry could go. Six hundred yards from the village they drew rein. The 6-pounders quickly came into action, and the rebel fire slackened. The troop of 9-pounders, retarded by the broken and difficult ground, came up, and soon silenced the united tearing fire of the enemy's guns, and drove their infantry from the village and the shelter of the trees. Their cavalry showed a bold front, in the hope of saving their guns which were being slowly dragged away by bullocks, but a flank movement and the advance of the infantry disconcerted them, and they fled. The pursuit was conducted with such vigour by the cavalry and artillery that the enemy's camp was captured. The following day the Rohilcund rebels were driven in such hot haste across the bridge of boats at Allygunge that they had no time to destroy it. The following day

Walpole crossed with his heavy guns to the right bank of the Ramgunga, and secured the bridge for the passage of the siege-train intended for the siege of the capital of Rohilcund. Walpole, with the exception of the unfortunate reverse at Rooya, had done well. He has for that reverse been severely censured, but the strictures passed upon him in the grief and passion of the hour must be accepted with caution. He states in his despatch that the infantry "had gone much nearer to the fort than I wished or intended them to go,"[1] and Sir Colin Campbell when referring to Rooya and to the Highlanders said, "The difficulty with these troops . . . is to keep them back; that's the danger with them. They will get too far forward." When going over the fort of Jellalabad Sir Colin again "alluded indirectly to the Rooya affair, to the rashness of officers in a subordinate position attempting to blame or judge the act of their superiors, of the strength of those mud forts, and of the difficulty of restraining their Highlanders. 'Look at this fort, and see how easy it would be for a few resolute fellows to pick off a body of men rash enough to run into that ditch.'" The Commander-in-Chief, who was well acquainted with the facts of the case, evidently did not think Walpole was to blame for the reverse at Rooya, and continued to employ him in positions of trust and important commands.

He crosses the Ramgunga.

[1] From Brigadier-General R. Walpole, Commanding Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff, Camp, Madhogunge, 16th April 1858.

On the 18th of April Sir Colin Campbell, leaving Lucknow, joined the headquarters camp at Cawnpore. Three days before, a siege-train consisting of 28 heavy guns and mortars had left that station for Futtehghur, escorted by a squadron of Punjab Cavalry, the 75th Highlanders, and the 2nd Punjab Infantry. On the 18th of April the headquarters camp followed them, but Sir Colin remained behind, and rejoined it on the 19th, making two long marches in one. He was escorted by a squadron of 5th Punjab Cavalry, a squadron of 17th Irregular Cavalry, and the headquarters of the 80th Foot, about 300 strong. At 2.15 in the morning the camp was struck, and the small force set forth on a march of thirteen miles. The fatigue and monotony of these slow long marches in the dark were great. But it was the hottest season of the year, and the men had to be got under cover soon after the break of day. "At last dawn comes, very slowly, no glory in it, no clouds—on the horizon there is a dim fog of dust, a haze which hides the sun. There is no colour, no atmosphere. The moment the sun shows above the haze he burns you like fire. As you pass through the villages ghostlike figures clad in white rise from their charpoys, which are laid out in the street, stare at you for a moment, and sink to sleep again."[1] The camping-ground which has been marked out by the Quartermaster-General was reached. "One by one the staff come in. Sir

Sir Colin starts for Futteh-ghur, 20th April 1858.

[1] "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, vol. i. pp. 383, 384.

Colin and the Chief of the Staff are generally some time behind us. Then comes their escort, a handful of cavalry; next the interminable line of tent-camels and elephants, then the cavalry in the centre of a cloud of dust, and at last, "rub-a-dub-dub, rub-a-dub-dub," and the infantry, hot and fagged, and white as bakers, trudge up; then more baggage; then the rear-guard, and three miles of stragglers and bazaar people. We have the 80th with us, fine soldierly-looking fellows, with a cruelly bad band." On the 24th of April they passed the Kala Nuddee by the bridge, at whose head Colin Campbell and his staff stood on the 2nd of January and watched, regardless of the bullets flying about, the stern contest which ended in the total rout of the Futtehghur rebels.[1] Anxious to consult with General Penny, Colin Campbell rode straight into Futtehghur, leaving his camp to follow the next morning. At 6.15 A.M. on the 25th, the force marched into Futtehghur, and passed through a city of ruins, desolated bungalows, and burnt cantonments, and came to a high and spacious mud fort. Within its enclosure were pitched the tents of the Commander-in-Chief. "Soon after the arrival of the troops His Excellency rode over to the hospital to inspect the wounded and sick men sent in from Walpole's column. He minutely examined all the preparations and accommodation for their reception, and conversed with them freely; while the men themselves, confiding in his solicitude and well-proved

The force reaches Futtehghur.

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 244-250.

regard for their welfare, talked to him without reserve."

Colonel Seaton, who had been left in command of the Futtehghur District by Sir Colin Campbell at the end of January, had done good service while his chief had been employed in the capture of Lucknow. He strengthened the fort, and removed the bridge of boats to a point where the citadel could dominate it. Early in April strong bodies of rebels threatened to cross the Ganges and invade the Doab from Rohilcund. One of them took up its position at Allygunge; the second at Bargaum, three miles from a ferry on the Ganges, twenty miles above Futtehghur; and the third at Kankar, in the same direction, twenty-two miles distant. Seaton considered Allygunge too strong to attack with his small force, Bargaum was too far off for a night march, and he therefore determined to surprise Kankar. On the night of the 6th April he stole forth from the fort with 1000 infantry, 300 cavalry, and 5 guns, and reached Kankar as dawn began to break. The enemy's cavalry were driven back, and a group of villages stormed with determined gallantry. The loss of the rebels was 250 killed and wounded, and 3 guns, and their plan of action was greatly disturbed.

The force enters Rohilcund, 27th April 1858.

On the morning of the 27th of April the force, crossing the Ganges, entered Rohilcund. "The old fort of Futtehghur, towering above the silvered flood of the Ganges, seemed the work of some grand canvassed Grieve, and it was only the dull

roar of the multitude pouring over the bridge of boats which gave its real character to what was around us." After some hours tramping over the sands the deep Ramgunga was reached, and crossed by the bridge of boats. Six miles more tramp and they reached Inigree: "At last, thank Heaven, we see our tents pitched, and the bazaar flags flying through the camp in the sandy plain." Soon after, Walpole's division accompanied by the siege-train joined them. The next morning the combined force started before 2 A.M. for Jellalabad, on the road to Shahjehanpore. "About 3 A.M. we halted, and lay down in our cloaks for a short sleep, which was very grateful. At 3.30 the bugles sounded, and on we went again. Country very flat, but well wooded and highly cultivated." The villages were invariably deserted as the force advanced, though the most stringent orders had been issued against plundering, and it was no unusual thing to see the old Chief with the flat of his sword or cudgel personally chastising the thievish camp-followers. About 5 A.M. there was another halt, and Sir Colin saw "his pet Highlanders" march by, the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd. "The Highlanders are very proud of Sir Colin, and he is proud of them. They look on him as if he belonged to them, like their bag-pipes—a property useful in war." The sun was blazing when they came in sight of a high mud fort, beneath which stretched the large village of Jellalabad. "The advance vedettes said they could make out men inside. Away scampered

Walpole's division joins them.

some cavalry and guns to the fort, but it had been hastily abandoned by the enemy. The camp was pitched some distance from the village. It was a day of gloom, for the news went from regiment to regiment that William Peel was dead.[1] The following day the force marched to a town called Kanth. On arriving there fresh sad tidings reached them. General Penny had been killed.

Operations of General Penny's column.

After his interview with the Commander-in-Chief Penny had rejoined his column and proceeded to carry out his part in the Rohilcund campaign. He crossed the Ganges at the village of Nerolee, and arrived within seven miles of the town of Oosait, where it was supposed that the rebels were in considerable force. About nine that night he moved forward with a division of his column, consisting of 1550 men and four guns of the light field battery, to surprise them. The heavy guns and baggage were sent with a sufficient escort to the town of Kukerowlee, about seven miles from Budaon. Owing to sundry delays it was midnight before Penny arrived near Oosait. He was now informed by Cracroft Wilson, the Commissioner, "that the rebels had entirely evacuated the place, and with their guns had retired to Datagunge, a town in the vicinity." On reaching the town it was found deserted by the rebels, and the information given to Wilson was apparently confirmed. The force continued its march in the darkness of the night, and, blinded by false intelligence, Penny neglected

[1] See above, vol. ii. p. 326.

some common military precautions, "probably," as Sir Colin states, "for the sake of sparing his troops." "When within one or two hundred yards of Kukerowlee some horsemen were indistinctly seen in front, and inquiries were made as to what they could be. It was supposed they must be a portion of our own force that had marched by the direct route to Kukerowlee, and the advance was continued without any extra precaution being taken till we found ourselves close to the town of Kukerowlee, in a regularly prepared ambuscade, with guns opening on us from the right, with grape and round shot at not more than forty yards' distance, while the horsemen charged down from the left, and infantry opened on us with musketry from the front. As far as can be ascertained, it was at this moment that the much-lamented Major-General Penny fell, disabled by a grape shot: he was at any rate not seen alive afterwards."[1]

Death of General Penny.

The four guns of the light field battery were ordered to the front, and the cavalry were brought forward to the charge. But neither arm could be effectually employed. The rebels' right occupied a mass of sandhills; their left was protected by thick groves of trees; the town of Kukerowlee was in the rear to fall back upon. In the dim incipiency of the dawn it was impossible to judge their number and position, and the fire of the guns had but little effect. Colonel Jones, who had assumed the com-

[1] From Colonel H. R. Jones, Carabiniers, Commanding Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Camp, Kukerowlee, the 30th April 1858.

Colonel Jones, Carabiniers, assumes command.

mand, therefore deemed it best merely to hold his ground till the infantry could join him and daylight revealed the best point of attack. "On the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Bingham, with Her Majesty's 64th Foot, he was ordered to advance upon and dislodge the enemy from his front and right: this was done in the most gallant style, and the enemy were speedily driven into the town. Not feeling myself strong enough to follow them there, the artillery was directed to fire the town by shelling, and this they speedily accomplished." The cavalry were ordered forward at a gallop. A squadron of the Carabiniers, under the command of Captain Foster, charged a gun, and captured it. On they rushed, but they had not gone a few hundred yards when suddenly men and horse dashed over into a deep ravine filled with Ghazees. A desperate struggle took place. Foster, as his horse was struggling out of the gulf, was attacked by the fanatics, who wounded him in three places, and in a moment he would have been a dead man if Troop Sergeant-Major Bouchier had not come to his aid. Many of the troopers suffered, and of the three officers with him Captain Betty and Lieutenants Davies and Graham were wounded. Meanwhile the other squadron of the Carabiniers and Lind's Mooltanee Horse continued the pursuit and overtook many of the flying foe. When the enemy was no longer in sight the force returned to Kukerowlee and encamped, "after having marched fully twenty-five miles." Among the wounded that day was Lieutenant A. H. Eckford, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General. He was with

the advanced guard when the first gun was fired: his horse was hit and fell with him. He had no sooner mounted another animal when he was attacked by some Ghazees, who stabbed the horse and wounded him. Eckford fell to the ground; a Ghazee slashed him across the shoulder and left him for dead. Surgeon Jones coming up found him grievously hurt, but he was able to assist him to rise and walk. The next moment they saw the enemy coming down upon them, and they threw themselves on their faces as if dead. The rebels passed by without heeding them. Some soldiers of the advancing infantry found them, and Eckford was moved to a safe spot. Not far from the captured gun was found the dead body of General Penny, stripped and terribly mangled. His horse when wounded must have dashed madly into the ranks of the enemy. Penny was a brave soldier, who had served in all the great campaigns which had extended the bounds of British dominion in India. As a lieutenant he took part in the Nepaul War (1814-16), and in the Mahratta Campaign (1816-17) he was present at the siege and capture of the great fortress of Bhurtpore, and was made brevet-major for his service. He was with the victors at Aliwal, and was wounded in the terrible struggle which drove the Sikhs from their stronghold of Sobraon. He took part in the true British fight of Chillianwalla and the decisive battle of Googerat. Fifty years' service had not diminished his military ardour. "With all the anxiety of a young man for military distinction," says Sir Colin Campbell, "he

rode a very long distance to confer with his Excellency, prior to his passage of the Ganges, notwithstanding the intense heat of the weather."

The following morning saw the column under the command of Colonel Jones again in motion, and, driving the enemy before him, without much difficulty he crossed the Ramgunga and marched across country to join Sir Colin.

CHAPTER XII.

TWELVE days before Penny's force crossed the Ganges to operate on the west, the Field Force which was to operate against the rebels in Rohilcund from the north-west left Roorkee, sixty miles from Meerut and twenty miles from Hardwar, where the sacred river debouches into the upper plain and its waters are first carried off by the Ganges Canal to irrigate some two millions of acres in the land between the Ganges and the Jumna. The Roorkee Field Force was commanded by Brigadier-General J. Jones, C.B., of the 60th Royal Rifles, the second in command being Brigadier J. Coke, C.B., of the 1st Punjab Infantry.[1] It consisted of a squadron 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabiniers), under Captain Bott; Mooltanee Horse, Captain Charles Cureton; 60th Royal and 1st Punjab Rifles; 17th Punjab and 1st Sikh Infantry. The artillery consisted of a light field battery, Captain A. G. Austen, with Lieutenants Price and Wake, and a heavy battery, Lieutenant F. W. Stubbs and Lieutenants Frank and Hume. The Mooltanee Horse consisted of five troops of Mooltanee Pathans and one of Mooltanee Beloochees,

Operations of the Roorkee Field Force.

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 98-100, 106, 115. "Life of Field-Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.," by G. W. Forrest, C.I.E., pp. 308, 322.

each troop numbering five hundred sabres. Gholam Hussan Khan, the man of highest rank and influence in the tribe, was the native commandant, and the native officers were the other chiefs.

The first aim of the English General was to transport his force, guns, and stores across the broad waters of the Ganges. He heard that the enemy were strongly intrenched at the town of Nargal, situated on the left bank of the river, sixteen miles from Hardwar, and he determined to turn their flank. He sent his heavy guns and baggage to the ghat, or passage stairs, right opposite the town, and the enemy, completely deceived, prepared to dispute the passage. Meanwhile he marched quickly with the main body to a spot near Hardwar, and, crossing the river, he moved boldly, yet with caution, into the forest which fringed its left bank. Soon the advanced guard came into touch with the enemy, strongly posted in a thick jungle near a place called Bhagneewalla. The six guns of the rebels at once opened fire. Austen, bringing up his field battery, replied briskly, whilst the advance of the infantry in skirmishing order forced them back, and a charge of a troop of Mooltanee Horse, under Lieutenant Gosling, threw them into disorder. Then the remainder of Cureton's regiment, supported by the field battery, charged them again and again whenever they attempted to re-form. The retreat soon became a rout. "The Mooltanees followed [the fugitives] for some miles, cutting up a large number and capturing four guns. . . . The natives say that

the spirits of the dead still haunt the scene, and that their groans may be heard in the night."[1]

The next morning Captain Cureton, hearing that some rebels were concealed in a thick jungle to the north of the village of Nujeejabad, sent out Jemadar Emam Buksh Khan to patrol in that direction. "Whilst carrying out this duty Emam Buksh received information from villagers that some miles off, in a fort called Khote, was a rebel Nawab and five hundred followers. With happy audacity the jemadar promptly marched to the fort, and surrounding it, summoned the garrison to surrender and give up the Nawab. He threatened that in case his demand was not complied with he would put every soul to the sword. The rebels, imposed upon by his bold bearing, and probably dispirited by the reverse of the preceding day, abandoned all idea of flight or resistance. The Nawab came out and gave himself up, was disarmed, and placed under a strong escort. Emam Buksh then entered the fort, placed a guard at the gate, turned out the garrison, first depriving them of their arms, and then sent information to the camp of the brilliant exploit he had achieved. For this dashing deed Jemadar Emam Buksh Khan received the third class of the Order of Merit."[2]

Jemadar Emam Buksh Khan.

On the 18th of April General Jones marched to Nujeejabad, which he found deserted, and he then pushed on to a fort called by the common name Futtehghur, or Fort of Victory, which he also

[1] "The Cornhill Magazine," Jan. 1863. Indian Cossacks.
[2] Ibid.

found abandoned by the enemy. They had in their rapid retreat left behind them eight guns, besides ammunition and grain. On the 20th the heavy guns and a squadron of Carabiniers having crossed the Ganges, arrived at camp. The same day the news reached the General that 6000 rebels had marched to Nugeenah, "and had there been joined by the nephews of the Nujeejabad Nawab, with their followers and guns." He determined to attack them.

Action at Nugeenah, 21st April 1858.

The following morning the column was again in motion, and before nine crossed the broad canal which fronts the town of Nugeenah. "The enemy was then taking up his position. He was late on the ground, and lost the site I conclude he would have chosen." [1] He was so taken by surprise that he had not time to make use of the five guns which commanded the bridge by which the column crossed. As the troops came over they were disposed as follows: the squadron 6th Dragoon Guards with two guns, and the advanced guard were sent against the enemy's left, which rested on the canal communicating with the other bank by another bridge. The Mooltanee Horse under Cureton were drawn up on some ground near a mango grove on the enemy's extreme right, about two miles from the bridge they held. The remainder of Austen's field battery moved rapidly to the front, "and opened fire in reply to the

[1] From Brigadier-General J. Jones, C.B., Commanding Roorkee Field Force, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, Camp, Noorpoor, the 23rd April 1858.

enemy's advance guns, which were in a grove of trees about nine hundred yards to our front."[1] The 60th Rifles formed into line and, with the 1st Punjab Infantry on their left, advanced steadily, charged the guns and captured them. At the same time Captain Bott, with the squadron of the Carabiniers, fell upon the enemy's guns on their left and took them. Brigadier Coke, observing that the enemy's cavalry on their right were advancing to turn the British left, ordered Cureton to attack them, and after driving them back to turn the right of the enemy's infantry. Just as Cureton received this order a young gentleman of seventeen or eighteen rode up to him, and asked permission to accompany him as a volunteer. The request was granted. The word was given, and the Mooltanees flew upon the foe, dispersed them, and secured their guns. Seeing a knot of rebels, the English lad, accompanied by two Mooltanees, attacked them with incredible daring, and in the fierce and dogged tussle received two severe wounds. After the capture of the guns Cureton crossed a nullah for the purpose of attacking a body of infantry drawn up in rear of it. "He had just re-formed the regiment, after the disorder consequent on passing this obstacle, and was advancing to charge the enemy, when Lieutenant Gosling, who had shown himself a good soldier both at Bhagneewalla and in that day's fight,

Great gallantry of Hanna.

[1] From Lieutenant-Colonel J. Coke, C.B., Commanding Infantry Brigade, to Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Roorkee Field Force, Camp, Dhanpore, 22nd April 1858.

came across a dismounted rebel trooper. Gosling unhesitatingly attacked him, but was at once shot through the chest by his adversary. Gosling's death was soon avenged, the enemy's infantry being quickly dispersed and driven off the field, with the loss of 100 men."[1]

When the main body of the enemy had been driven from their guns by the British infantry, they attempted to retreat into the city, but Jones by rapidly changing front to the right and throwing the left forward at the double, cut off their line of retreat, and drove them to the left of the town.[2] Cureton, who after his brilliant encounters had galloped across the plain at the rear of the enemy's left, found the insurgents in full retreat. Immediately in front of him was a party of chiefs mounted on six elephants, and surrounded by cavalry and infantry. Cureton with his gallant swordsmen, charging at a gallop, scattered horse and men, and captured the elephants. By a daring act he rescued an English telegraph signaller who had been captured some time previously, and had been taken into the field in order that he might witness the defeat of his countrymen.

Cureton's daring act.

Cureton thought the day's work was done, but no sooner was the combat finished when he saw a large body of the enemy, men and horse with

[1] "Cornhill Magazine," Jan. 1863. Indian Cossacks.

[2] From Brigadier-General J. Jones, C.B., Commanding Roorkee Field Force, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, Camp, Noopoor, the 23rd April 1858.

guns, marching towards him. Their superiority of numbers was great. But this was a grand chance. The sight of the captured elephants would make them think it was a party of friends. Cureton withdrew his 200 sabres into a grove by the roadside. Nearer and nearer they approached until they arrived at the edge of the wood. Then "suddenly a clear English voice rings out the word 'Charge!' and in an instant the Mooltanees are in the midst of the panic-stricken foe. Taken by surprise, daunted by the fury of the onset, the rebels do not resist long, but flee in all directions, leaving upwards of 100 dead on the ground, and a green standard and several guns as trophies. With this feat of arms end the gallant deeds of Cureton and his Mooltanees in the action of Nugeenah."[1] On their return to camp Cureton found that the wounded youth who had accompanied them as a volunteer, and "had behaved with great gallantry,"[2] was not, as he imagined, a British officer, but Mr Hanna, a student of the Roorkee Civil Engineer College. At the strong recommendation of Brigadier Coke, Hanna obtained a commission as the reward of his great gallantry.[3]

The next day (22nd April) the column continued its march towards Miradabad, an important town

[1] "Cornhill Magazine," Jan. 1863. Indian Cossacks.

[2] Captain Charles Cureton, Commanding the Mooltanee Regiment of Cavalry, to Brigadier Coke, C.B., Commanding the Infantry Brigade, Camp, Dhanpore, the 22nd April 1858.

[3] Lieutenant-Colonel Hanna, Author of "The History of the Second Afghan War."

on the direct route to Bareilly, the principal object of the campaign. While on the road intelligence reached the Brigadier that Feroze Shah, one of the Princes of Delhi, had with 2000 followers forced his way into the city, and was plundering it. On approaching the town he however learnt that Feroze Shah, on hearing of the advance of the column, had hastily abandoned the place and retreated to Bareilly. Jones pitched his camp outside the city, but information having reached him that some rebel chiefs were lurking in the heart of the town, it was determined to make a diligent search for them. The most important of the chiefs was Nawab Mujjoo Khan, who had caused himself to be proclaimed Nawab of Moradabad, and had instigated the rabble to plunder and murder Europeans. Coke, taking with him two guns, a party of sappers, and the 1st Punjab Infantry, proceeded to his house or fortalice. The guard at the outer gate opposed the entrance of the search party, and in the fray which ensued one of the Nawab's sons and his nephew were killed. Lieutenant Angelo, of the 1st Punjab Infantry, rushing to the house where the Nawab and his other sons were concealed, burst open the door and captured them. The Nawab's guard, who were in a room on the upper storey of a house commanding their master's residence, opened fire. Angelo dashed across the courtyard, "rushed up the narrow staircase leading to the room, burst open the door, and single-handed entered the room, shot three men with his revolver, and, on being

Lieutenant Angelo, 1st Punjab Infantry.

joined by some of his men, captured the rest of the guard."

Brigadier Jones halted at Moradabad until news reached him that Walpole's column had advanced sufficiently to enable him to time his arrival at Bareilly simultaneously with that of the force under the Commander-in-Chief. During his brief stay all pillage was put down with a firm hand, and confidence restored to the inhabitants of the town and adjacent district. On the 3rd of May the column resumed its march, and two days later arrived at Meergunge, within fourteen miles of Bareilly. The town had been strongly occupied by Feroze Shah, but on the approach of the British he fell back on Bareilly. Austen's guns and the cavalry went on, overtook a body of the rebels, and captured three guns. As darkness began to fall the column encamped outside the town. Nothing now remained to be done but the capture of Bareilly. No tidings of Sir Colin and his movements could, however, be obtained.

The column arrives near Bareilly, 5th May 1858.

On the 30th of April Sir Colin's force crossed the Ramgunga by a bridge of boats, and passing the entrance to Shahjehanpore encamped outside the city. Some of the column found a shelter in a thick grove of trees, but some "were encamped actually in the open under a tremendous sun." By order of the Nana Sahib all the houses or buildings suitable to shelter troops in the city or cantonments had been destroyed. Near the grove, however, was the jail, whose buildings and wall

Sir Colin encamps outside Shahjehanpore, 30th April 1858.

had been left intact. Sir Colin determined to use it as a military post, as it dominated the city. Leaving two 9-pounder bullock-draught field-guns, and two 24-pounders, De Kantzow's Irregular Horse, and 500 of the 82nd Foot, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hall of that regiment, to hold the jail and its enclosure, the column resumed its march on the 2nd May. "The country through which we passed is very flat, very fertile, a real sea of mango groves, but the people have fled from before us." After a tramp of twelve miles the force encamped at Tilhour in a noble grove of trees, with a large tank of clear water adjoining, "the whole so like some of Poussin's landscapes that one might have supposed him to have visited Rohilcund." During the afternoon the dull booming of guns a long way off was heard. Sir Colin decided that it must be at Shahjehanpore. "That rascally Moulvie!—a very clever fellow though, and shows a great deal of skill." He, however, continued his advance towards Bareilly, and the next day reached Futtehghur (or the Place of Victory), which was founded by a Nawab of Oudh in memory of the decisive battle fought on the 23rd of April 1776, in which the great Rohilla chief Hafez Rahman was killed. During this day's march the force under Jones of the Carabiniers joined the Headquarters column at Meranpoor Kuttra. After a long and tedious march during the whole hot night of May, the reinforced column reached Furreedpore early in the morning, found the place deserted, and en-

The column resumes its march.

The force under Colonel Jones, Carabiniers, joins the Headquarters column.

Foot on the right of the road and the 42nd Highlanders on the left. Supporting and flanking these were the 79th Foot, the Carabiniers, Lind's Mooltanee Horse, the remainder of the 9th Lancers and detachment of Punjab Cavalry, and the wing of the Belooch Battalion. Behind them the siege-train and the long length of baggage moved slowly on, flanked by the 64th Regiment, a wing of the 82nd, the 2nd Punjab Infantry, and the 4th Punjab Rifles. Then came the rear-guard, consisting of the 22nd Punjab Infantry, a troop of horse artillery, the 17th Irregular Cavalry, and a squadron of the 5th Punjab Cavalry. The strength of the column amounted to 7636 men and 19 guns, exclusive of the siege-train.[1]

The battle soon began. The enemy had come out from the city and taken up his position on the left or near bank of the Nuttea Nuddee, having a bridge that spanned the stream in his rear. About 7 A.M. his first guns opened fire. They were well placed, "advantage having been taken of the road along which we were advancing and of certain sandhills."[2] The horse artillery and cavalry advanced at the trot from both flanks. The guns were rapidly limbered and came into action. So telling was their fire that the enemy quickly abandoned their pieces and fled across the stream. Meanwhile the heavy field battery and the infantry

[1] From General C. Campbell, Commander-in-Chief, East Indies, to the Right Honourable the Governor-General, Camp, Bareilly, the 8th May 1858.

[2] Ibid.

moved rapidly forward in line on the centre. On reaching the ravine the left part took position on the river, while the right crossed the bridge and advanced towards the town. The progress was slow, as dense groves of trees concealed from view the enemy's position in the cantonments and towards the city. "The heavy guns were rapidly passed over the bridge in succession and placed in a position from which they raked the centre of the enemy's second line which he had taken up in the suburbs." The rebels "were strongly entrenched in old houses and enclosures," says an eye-witness, "and Sir Colin wanted to give them a pounding before he went at them." A considerable distance had also now been traversed by the troops, "and it became necessary to check the advance to allow time for the siege-train and baggage to close up."

Determined attack made by the Rohilla Ghazees.

About 11 A.M. great activity was observed in the enemy's ranks. While Sir Colin's right was occupied by a considerable body in the suburbs, "the most determined effort," says Sir Colin, "that I have seen made in this war to turn and break through the left was executed at this time by the enemy."[1] The 4th Punjab Rifles, "a most distinguished regiment," had just taken possession of some old cavalry lines, and were in broken order, hotly engaged with a large number of matchlockmen concealed around them, when a large body of Rohilla Ghazees dashed out from behind the houses

[1] From General C. Campbell, Commander-in-Chief, East Indies, to the Right Honourable the Governor-General, Camp, Bareilly, the 8th May 1858.

shouting their religious war-cry, Bismilla, Allah! Allah! Deen, Deen, "Glory to Allah! The Faith, The Faith." They went straight and eager at the Sikhs, and drove them back upon the 42nd Highlanders, whom Sir Colin, as soon as he saw the rush of the Ghazees, had formed in line so as to support them. When the Sikhs gave way he was by the Highlanders, and he spake the reassuring words, "Stand firm, 42nd: bayonet them as they come on." With well-fashioned shields held high and their swords flashing as they whirled them over their heads, the fanatics dashed against the centre of the wall of bayonets. While the front line contended against them, a large body went against the left flank of the right wing and, sweeping round it, burst upon the rear. Then right desperately Ghazees and Highlanders fought, shield and sword against the bayonet. Three of the Rohillas fell on Cameron, who commanded the Highlanders, and pulled him off his horse before he could draw his sword. In a moment he would have been hacked to pieces if Colour-Sergeant Gardiner had not rushed forward and driven his bayonet through two of his assailants, while a comrade shot the third. Two or three of the Ghazees attacked General Walpole and slashed him across the hand, and he would have perished if the quick steel of the Black Watch had not saved him. Many a Ghazee was pierced through the shield by the ruthless bayonet. But, exalted by religious zeal and mad with *bhang*, they fought on, neither giving quarter nor ground, and so they died. A hundred and thirty-three lay

in one circle right in front of the colours of the Forty-Second.[1]

While the Ghazees were attacking on the left of the first line a very large body of the enemy's cavalry made an attack upon the baggage. The camp-followers were scattered over the plain, and in wild confusion they rushed for the road. "It was a veritable *stampede* of men and animals. Elephants were trumpeting shrilly as they thundered over the fields, camels slung at their utmost joggling stride, horse and tats, women and children, were all pouring in a stream, which converged and tossed in heaps of white as it neared the road—an awful panic." As the cavalry swept by many a camp-follower fell with cleft skull. But their squadrons had soon to rein back. Tombs' troop of artillery, who had been left after the first advance across the river to meet such a contingency, opened fire and mowed them down. Two squadrons of the Carabiniers and Lind's Mooltanee Horse charged, and the enemy's horsemen fled at full gallop over the wide plains.

Sudden attack on the baggage.

This was the last effort made by the rebels. A short time afterwards the 79th and 93rd were directed to seize all the suburbs in their front. The

The suburbs in front are seized.

[1] "Sir Colin had a narrow escape. As he was riding from one company to another his eye caught that of a quasi-dead Ghazee, who was lying, tulwar in hand, just before him. The Chief guessed the ruse in a moment. 'Bayonet that man!' he called to a soldier. The Highlander made a thrust at him, but the point would not enter the thick cotton quilting of the Gazee's tunic; and the dead man was rising to his legs when a Sikh, who happened to be near, with a whistling stroke of his sabre cut off the Ghazee's head at one blow, as if it had been the bulb of a poppy!"

want of accurate information had been a serious obstacle to the full development of Sir Colin's designs. When he thought he was outside Bareilly he was in reality only outside the ruined cantonments and the suburbs, some miles from the city. The enemy had insured their safety by a timely retreat. The action had lasted for about six hours, and the troops had been under arms since 2 A.M. It was one of the hottest days of the hottest season of the year. "There is a sun, indeed, which tells us we are not in Kent." Many a brave soldier had been laid low by his fiery stroke. All were exhausted with thirst and intense heat. An attack on the city meant a series of street fights, and Sir Colin after Lucknow knew what this meant. It could not be done without considerable risk by tired soldiers, however superior their quality. He therefore directed the 79th and 93rd to seize all the suburbs in their front, and the exhausted troops were put into shade as far as possible. As the sun was going down the baggage was removed to the Bareilly side of the stream, and that night the column bivouacked on the battlefield.

When morning dawned the whole force began its advance into the cantonments. Soon after the troops were set in motion the distant sound of guns was heard. The reports grew louder and louder. Sir Colin knew that the Roorkee Field Force had arrived on the scene. On the morning of the 6th Jones's force began its final advance on Bareilly, and the head of the column had not advanced far when it came in sight of a stone bridge over a

tributary of the river Sunha, which flows past the city. Coke with some cavalry reconnoitred and found the bridge occupied by the enemy and enfiladed by some heavy guns. Jones disposed his men to the right and left, and sent his heavy half battery to the right, which opened at a thousand yards. The field battery advancing to closer quarters on that flank came into action, the infantry plied them with musketry, then with a rush the bridge was carried, the guns taken, and the rebels driven back into Bareilly with considerable slaughter. A building in the heart of the town was occupied, and during the afternoon communication with Sir Colin was opened. On the 7th of May the capital of Rohilcund was again completely in the possession of the British.

Bareilly again occupied, 7th May 1858.

The same day tidings of a grave nature reached Sir Colin. The small detachment he had left at Shahjehanpore was being sore pressed by the enemy. His forecast had come true. No sooner had he left the place when that "rascally Moulvie" had shown his skill by swiftly returning with a large force to take the garrison by surprise and regain possession of the city. The day the headquarters column advanced on Bareilly Colonel Hale pitched his camp for the sake of shade in a grove of trees near the jail, which he immediately proceeded to put in a state of defence. The next morning a spy brought the information that the enemy were within five miles of the post. He immediately directed the camp to be struck, the stores and baggage to be taken inside the entrenchment, and

The enemy attack Shahjehanpore.

Defence of the jail by Colonel Hale.

two companies of the 82nd Regiment to cover the transfer. He himself went forward to reconnoitre, and soon he perceived the enemy's cavalry appearing on the brow of the hill across the Kanhaut river. "After a time they moved to my left, and, crossing the river, came down in great force, when, being informed that the whole of my camp, or nearly so, was inside the entrenchment, I retired the 82nd inside also. Lieutenant De Kantzow, who was posted with his cavalry on my right flank, gallantly charged the enemy, but seeing him greatly outnumbered, and my orders being to act strictly on the defensive, I ordered him in also." The rebels, computed at 8000 strong, with 12 guns, seized the old fort in the suburbs, took possession of the town, plundered it, and put to death many of the principal inhabitants. They then quickly brought their guns to bear upon the jail, and for eight days and nights they kept up a constant fire upon the small garrison with their guns and matchlocks, while their cavalry patrolled all round.[1]

The Shahjehanpore Field Force formed under Brigadier-General Jones.

As soon as Sir Colin heard of the critical state of affairs at Shahjehanpore he broke up the Roorkee Field Force and formed the Shahjehanpore Field Force. It was commanded by Brigadier-General Jones, and consisted of Captain Austen's field and Lieutenant Stubbs's heavy batteries, a company of sappers, two squadrons of the Carabiniers, Cureton's Mooltanee Horse, the 60th Rifles, 79th

[1] From Lieutenant-Colonel E. B. Hale, Her Majesty's 82nd Regiment, Commanding Shahjehanpore, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army: Camp, Shahjehanpore, the 25th May 1858.

Highlanders, a wing of the 82nd Foot, and the 22nd Punjab Infantry. On the 8th the force left Bareilly, and on the morning of the third day the British troops saw the waters of a quiet winding stream getting golden with the level sun-rays, and lower down on the opposite or left bank the stately old mosques and fort of Shahjehanpore crowning the high ground just above the junction of the Gogra and the Kanhaut. If they followed the main road from Bareilly they would come to a stone bridge which spanned the Gogra at the southern and most populous part of the city. To make their way to the beleaguered garrison through its main street, lined by substantial, lofty loopholed houses, could only be done by hard fighting entailing considerable loss. The Brigadier therefore determined to ford the Gogra above the town, and, skirting the northern suburbs, reach the cantonment. The river at that season of the year contracts to a comparatively narrow channel, exposing treacherous sandy flats. In attempting to reach the stream one of Austen's light gun teams got stuck in the sand. While searching for a better spot to cross, a large body of cavalry appeared on the right towards the stone bridge. "The General at once," says one who was present, "formed line to that flank, and moved down the river to meet them; the 60th and 79th and heavy guns in first line, with the 22nd P.I. in support, and cavalry on the right. The line advanced until the heavy guns came into action at 1200 yards, when after two or three rounds the long

line of sabres began to melt away, and the cavalry, with Captain Austen's guns, which had got back very quickly, followed them up to a considerable distance." [1] The heavy batteries shelled the town from the bridge. The troops moved up, and skirting the dense part of the city, they reached, through the eastern suburb, the High School. They found a body of cavalry drawn up to bar their progress. A few shrapnel shells dispersed them, and they were closely pursued by the Carabiniers. The column moved on, and passing the charred shell of the church and across the parade, reached the jail, and relieved the small garrison which had held it against an overwhelming force. Hale's brief report of this defence is essentially that of a brave regimental officer who had done his duty and thought nothing more about it. But Sir Colin, who saw into the heart of men and things, knew that the modest words recorded a fine achievement. In forwarding for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor-General a copy of the despatch, the Deputy Adjutant-General writes to the Military Secretary to the Government of India—"I am directed by the Commander-in-Chief to beg you will inform his Lordship that the Lieutenant-Colonel hardly does justice to himself in his report of this defence, which was conducted by him with prudence and skill, and consequently with trifling loss. I am to add that Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, although

Brigadier-General Jones enters Shahjehanpore and relieves Hale.

[1] "History of the Bengal Artillery," by Major-General Stubbs, pp. 420, 423.

he makes no mention of the fact, was himself wounded by a musket-bullet in the leg, from the effects of which he has not yet recovered."

The Shahjehanpore Field Force encamped on the cantonment parade close to the jail, and facing the town. The Brigadier soon discovered that he had been opposed by only a fragment of the enemy's force, and on the 14th he learnt that the Moulvie had been joined by Prince Feroze Shah and the Begum of Oudh, that the enemy had assembled in vast numbers at a fort on the other side of the Kanhaut, and intended to attack the rear of his position. At 2 A.M. the General drew up his force behind that stream and covering the town. When the day broke the rebel host was seen, and the British guns opened an effective fire. The enemy maintained the contest for a short time, and then sought the shelter of the numerous groves of trees which dotted the plain. Covered both from view and fire, a body of cavalry crossed the Kanhaut, appeared close to the two heavy guns, and charged. "A charge of grape from the howitzer stopped all but some thirty. Gunner Bremner, at the 18-pounder, waited, port-fire in hand, till they were nearly 15 yards off, and then emptied five saddles; only three or four came on."[1] De Kantzow's Irregular Horse turned, but De Kantzow, who had given many a noble example of courage, with two of his troopers went at them. He received a bad slash over his face,

Gunner Bremner.

De Kantzow with two troopers charge a body of cavalry.

[1] "History of the Bengal Artillery," by Major-General F. W. Stubbs, vol. iii. p. 423.

and in a moment would have lost all delight in battle if his native officer had not cut the man down between the guns. They soon resumed fire, and the rebel force was quickly lost to sight. The General had not sufficient cavalry to pursue them. His vastly inferior force had staved off defeat and gained time. He at once sent a message to the Commander-in-Chief informing him of the necessity for immediate reinforcement.

Sir Colin's power of combination.

Sir Colin Campbell showed at the capture of Bareilly the same great power of planning a combination which he displayed in the siege and capture of Lucknow. The concentration of the three columns, which had been projected some time before and well prepared, was executed with marvellous precision. Slowly but surely they were brought to bear on a great city which, though without walls, was filled by thousands of fanatics who only desired to die in a hand-to-hand struggle with the infidel. And the combination resulted in its occupation with much economy of life. Sir Colin has been severely criticised for allowing the rebel garrison to escape into Oudh. If his men had been capable of further efforts on the 5th of May he might have killed a thousand of the rebels in street fighting, but a vigorous pursuit after a contest so hard fought could not possibly have been initiated. His primary object was to disperse the main force of the insurgents. If large bodies of them went into Oudh they would play his own game, which was to drive them from the North and Bengal into the great Alsatia. He

would then pour from many points his forces into Oudh, envelop the mutineers, drive them into the malarial marshes of Nepal, and crush the rebellion. He realised that neither the capture of great strongholds, nor victories however complete, would suppress the revolt. This could only be done by the occupation and gradual settlement of the revolted districts. As wise a councillor in civil affairs as he was skilled in the business of war, Sir Colin saw that success in arms must be followed by a policy of clemency and mercy. The veteran soldier who struck so hard wrote: "It appears to me that if these wretched criminals be not reassured, guilty though they be, it will be impossible to predict any term to the general struggle." No sooner was Sir Colin master of Bareilly than he checked plundering, and the population was very leniently treated. No confiscations were ordered, inquiry into the cases of private war was prohibited, and no one but leaders brought to trial. Rohilcund submitted, but, owing to the large number of fanatical Rohillas in the city and the province, the presence of a strong garrison was imperative. General Walpole was appointed chief of the troops in the province. A force composed of Remington's troop of Horse Artillery, a heavy field battery, the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, a wing of the 42nd Highlanders, the 78th and 93rd Highlanders, together with the 17th Punjab Infantry, was selected to form the garrison of Bareilly. A column for special service in the districts of the province was placed under the

A wise councillor in civil affairs.

The garrison of Bareilly.

command of Brigadier Coke. It consisted of Hammond's light field battery, a heavy field battery, 100 Pioneers, a squadron of the 17th Irregular Cavalry, a wing of the 42nd Highlanders, the 1st Punjab Infantry, and the 1st Sikh Infantry. On the 11th they marched in the direction of Pillebheet, where Khan Bahadur Khan, the infamous leader of the Rohilcund insurgents, was said to have gone. The two Sikh corps, the 2nd and the 4th, who had given proof of their valour at the storming of Delhi and the capture of Lucknow, and had during the past twelve months endured the hardships of campaigns conducted over a vast extent of country, were sent back to the Punjab. The headquarters of the Carabiniers accompanied them as far as Meerut.

Sir Colin returns to Futtehghur.

Bareilly having been captured and the main force of the insurgents dispersed, Sir Colin determined to return at once to Futtehghur. The Governor-General was anxious that the Commander-in-Chief should be in some accessible place and within the range of the electric telegraph. Lord Canning, by virtue of his office, was responsible for the general conduct of the war, but he realised that the best person to direct armies in the field was the soldier who in many campaigns had learnt all the branches of his profession. Nothing that had to be done was ever done without the advice of the Commander-in-Chief. The cordial and friendly footing on which the Statesman and the Soldier worked together in the hours of darkness and difficulty was invaluable

to the State. Acting in accordance with the wishes of the Governor-General, Sir Colin left Bareilly on the 5th of May, taking with him the remainder of the Rohilcund column.[1] After a march of six hours they encamped at Furreedpore. Soon after two o'clock the next morning they proceeded in the moonlight to Futtehgung. Here Jones's messages reached Sir Colin, and he sent at once for the remainder of the 2nd Lancers. He also despatched a message to Brigadier Coke ordering him to join him with the utmost speed. On the 17th the force reached the encamping ground in the Tilhour tope, and during the day they were joined by the remainder of the Lancers. Late in the evening a report reached Sir Colin that the enemy were strongly posted a few miles to the north-east of Shahjehanpore. About half an hour after midnight the first bugle sounded, but before the tents could be struck sheets of lightning played through the dark branches of the mango-trees, loud crashes of thunder rent the air, and the rain came down in torrents. But it did not long cool the air. After a long and hot march the British troops caught sight of Shahjehanpore and the luxuriant groves that surrounded it. Passing over the old camping ground, the column swept round the city to the bridge of boats, and, crossing it, filed through the main street, now lined with charred ruins and

Receives an urgent message from Brigadier Jones.

Encamps near Shahjehanpore.

[1] It included Tombs' troop of horse artillery, a portion of the siege artillery, two squadrons of the 9th Lancers, three squadrons of Punjab Cavalry, the greater portion of the 64th Regiment, the wing of the Belooch Battalion, and the artillery.

deserted houses. About nine o'clock the force encamped in a grove beyond the old cantonments close to the river between two fords, which were closely watched, and the bridge of boats. A strong picket with two guns was posted in the village of Lohedpoor on the left bank of the Kanhaut. A strong detachment of infantry occupied the town. The chief rested his troops during the fiercest heat of the day. About 3 A.M. Colonel Percy Herbert, who had been hard hit at Alma and had shown his foresight and daring at the bloody battle of Inkerman, went out to reconnoitre the enemy with a small body of horse. Two miles from camp, on the other side of the Kanhaut, was a mud fort occupied by a strong body of the enemy with four guns. No sooner did they catch sight of Percy Herbert and his band moving forward than the guns opened fire and sent their shells in quick succession amongst the handful of horse. The same moment a swarm of rebel cavalry appeared from behind the fort and spread like a flight of locusts over the brown plain. "Two 18-pounders on the river's bank at a high elevation plumped round-shot into them, which they dodged with their active horses in wonderful style." Sir Colin, placing the Rifles, H.M.'s 64th, H.M.'s 79th, with his guns and cavalry, along the British front, made an advance across the plain. The enemy's guns opened fire, and Tombs' troop of artillery coming into action effectively replied: the infantry continuing their advance occupied a large village, from which they opened fire on the rebel Cossacks. "As Sir Colin rode across the plain with

Colonel Percy Herbert.

Mansfield and his Staff he had almost as near an escape as Norman had at Bareilly, when the heel of his boot was carried off by a round-shot. We saw a shot strike the earth so close to him that it seemed impossible he could escape; but on the dust clearing away the Chief was seen trotting along as usual." The enemy withdrew their guns, one of which was disabled, to the fort, and their horsemen disappeared. The cavalry was too weak in numbers to pursue them, and it was too late for the infantry to press them. "The soldiers were much fatigued, and so, posting strong pickets all along our front and exposed flank, we retired before sunset, having gained a large accession of position without any material loss."[1]

The Chief makes a forced march to Futtehghur.

On the morning of the 23rd of May, Whitsunday, Brigadier Coke's force joined the headquarters column. The Chief had heard that the Ganges was rising, and the bridge of boats at Futtehghur might soon be impracticable. He therefore determined to make a forced march at midnight, taking with him the Headquarters Staff and establishment and some of the sick escorted by a weak body of native troops.[2] The spies had informed him that the Moulvie had with five hundred cavalry gone out towards Futtehghur to intercept a convoy. If he heard of the Chief's movements he might make a dash at him. But Sir Colin would not increase his slender escort,

[1] "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, vol. ii. p. 25.

[2] A wing of the Belooch Battalion, some Irregular Horse, and two guns.

because he knew Jones was weak in cavalry, and he had ordered him to attack the enemy at day-break next morning. He wanted himself to lead the troops against the Moulvie and strike a final blow in the Rohilcund Campaign, but Central India, Oudh, and Behar demanded his attention, and the river must at once be crossed. It would have relieved his anxiety if he could have known that Calpee had been captured on that Whit-sunday. At 10 P.M. the headquarters' tents were struck, and half an hour later the march began. About 2 P.M. the troops had a long halt. "Sir Colin, Mansfield, Sterling, and the rest, lay down on the ground and slept soundly for more than half an hour." About ten o'clock in the morning they reached Jellalabad, and the camp was pitched in a tope. It was positively stated that the Moulvie was on their line of march. "Our two guns were placed in position outside our tope, and in heat quite indescribable we lay on our charpoys and slept." That evening the little force was again in motion. "This is indeed a forced march with a vengeance. On—and on—and on—for the Ganges all the weary night." Soon after midnight the advanced guard saw a large column on the plain before them. "The Moulvie," was the cry. The force halted. It was hardly in a fit state to fight. "The infantry have not a leg left, the cavalry can barely keep their horses off their knees, and the horse-guns are reduced to the state of guns of position."[1] A short sharp suspense, and some of

[1] "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, vol. ii. p. 33.

the troopers spurred on and discovered it was the convoy escorted by a few companies of the 80th. Sir Colin decided after some deliberation to send on the convoy to Shahjehanpore under the protection of the two guns and native troops who were dead beat, and to take the party of the 80th as an escort. There was no urgent necessity for the convoy making forced marches, but it must get across the river before it rose any higher. The march was resumed. "On again we went for mile after mile over a sandy, dusty plain." The British soldiers, who had already done a long march, were soon as exhausted as the native escort. From every side were heard cries of distress for the water-carriers. "Suddenly there came out of the hot black night a fearful storm—not of rain or thunder, but of wind and dust, which burned like the ashes of a furnace. The column halted at once. Nor man nor beast could face the force of the blast, the burning breath of the Simoom." The officers dismounted and the men crouched on the ground. When the fiery wind abated the troop was again formed and set in motion. For some hours they marched on, then early dawn shone forth and the men saw beyond the parched plain a silver stream, and beyond, across a long low waste of sandbanks, the wide waters of the Ganges. At 7 A.M., after about thirty hours of constant exertion in the hot month of May, they piled their arms by the stream and laved their burning heads in the cool water. "Presently, sitting over his horse's shoulder with an air of fatigue, as well he might, came Sir Colin

himself, with a few of his Staff. His clothes and face were covered with dust, his eyes were half filled with sand, and, indeed, I scarcely recognised him for a moment when he drew up to speak to me. 'Futtehghur is only four miles away,' said he, 'we'll be there in an hour and a quarter.'" Then he rode his horse across the stream, and the jaded men followed their Chief. They tramped across the wide sandbanks of the Ganges, crossed the long bridge of boats, and entered the Fort of Futtehghur.

Brigadier Jones advances against Mohumdee.

On the 24th of May, Brigadier Jones, according to his instructions, advanced upon the enemy's position at Mohumdee, a town in Oudh close to the eastern frontier of Rohilcund, some twenty miles distant from Shahjehanpore. When his force, consisting of one brigade of cavalry and two of infantry, approached the village of Burnai, the insurgents opened fire, and the heavy guns replying kept their host of horsemen in check. The British cavalry, with the field artillery, advanced, and the enemy fell back, when the brigade halted to enable the light guns to come into action. The main column pushed slowly forward. As the cavalry brigade passed a large grove of mango-trees a body of the enemy's cavalry dashed out upon Cureton's Mooltanee Horse, who were on the extreme left. "The rebel chief, with about twenty followers—Ghazis—made such a furious onset that in an instant they had pierced the line. The regiment did not waver for an instant, and almost immediate death was the reward of their temerity. Not a man of the

twenty-one escaped, but ere they fell they had succeeded in killing and wounding several of the Mooltanees. The chief, who was commandant of the whole rebel cavalry, quitted this life tragically. A young Mooltanee made a stroke at him with his spear and missed. Determined that his prey should not escape he dropped the faithless weapon, and, clasping him round the waist, the two fell to the ground in mortal struggle. When the fight was over both were found dead—the trooper with a pistol-bullet through the body, and the rebel chief with a dagger in his chest."[1] Cureton shouted "Charge!" The rebel horsemen did not await the shock, but fled at full gallop, and scattering over the plain escaped with a comparatively small loss. The British troops encamped near a neighbouring village. The next morning when they reached Mohumdee they found that the Moulvie had abandoned the strong fort and retired farther into Oudh. The fort was blown up, and a neighbouring village, which had been fortified, was also destroyed. On the 29th the force returned to Shahjehanpore. Two days later an expedition was sent whose object was to capture Shahabad, a town of importance in the days of the Moghuls. After a slight action it was taken. On the 14th of June the Shahjehanpore Field Force was broken up.

Close of the Rohilcund Campaign, 14th June 1858.

So ended the Rohilcund Campaign. It marks a decisive stage in the war of the Mutiny. The vital struggle for supremacy closed with the storming and capture of Delhi (14th September 1857) and

[1] "Cornhill Magazine," Jan. 1863. Indian Cossacks.

the relief of Lucknow by Havelock (25th September 1857). In the month of October 1857, however, Havelock's small force was being closely besieged by a highly disciplined army well supplied with artillery and the munitions of war. The road from Calcutta to Cawnpore was unsafe, the communications with the North-West entirely closed, whole armies were against us, and entire kingdoms in insurrection. Eight short months rolled on. At the beginning of June 1858 the Gangetic Doab had been recovered, communications with the North-West of the Empire had been restored, the garrison of Lucknow relieved, and the great capital of Oude captured: Rohilcund, held by an army of 30,000 men, recovered, and in the Upper Provinces, where every man was armed, tranquillity ensured. Two columns had traversed Central India from the boundaries of Madras and Bombay to the Jumna, had won battles against enormous odds, and had captured some of the strongest fortresses in India. How was the tremendous task done? Sir Colin tells us in a general order, dated the 28th May 1858, a year after Delhi had been captured by the mutineers:—

Sir Colin's general order, 28th May 1858.

"By their patient endurance of fatigue, their unfailing obedience, and their steadfast gallantry, the troops have enabled the Generals to fulfil their instructions. In no war has it ever happened that troops have been more often engaged during the campaigns which have now terminated. In no war has it ever happened that troops should always contend against immense numerical odds, as has been invariably the case in every encounter during

the struggle of the last year; and in no war has constant success without a check been more conspicuously achieved. It has not occurred that one column here, another there, has won more honour than the other portions of the army: the various corps have done like hard work, have struggled through the difficulties of a hot-weather campaign, and have compensated for paucity of numbers in the vast area of operations by continuous and unexampled marching, notwithstanding the season. It is probable that much yet remains for the army to perform; but now that the Commander-in-Chief is able to give the greater part of it rest for a time, he chooses this moment to congratulate the Generals and troops on the great results which have attended their labours. He can fairly say that they have accomplished in a few months what was believed by the ill-wishers of England to be either beyond her strength or to be the work of many years."

Much hard work remained to be done. The great armies had been defeated and dispersed, but large roving rebel bands had to be driven out of Western Bengal, Oudh, and Central India.

CHAPTER XIII.

Western Bengal.

A MAIN cause for Havelock's determination to fall back after his two hard-won victories, and to abandon for a brief time his daring attempts to relieve Lucknow, was a message from Neill, which we have already given,[1] that the troops at Dinapore on his communications south of Benares had mutinied, and that the 5th Fusiliers and 90th Light Infantry, which he had been daily expecting would reinforce him, could not now arrive for a couple of months. Dinapore was the headquarters of one of the great military divisions of the Bengal Army, and a glance at a map will show the strategic importance of its position. It lies on the right bank of the great water highway, the Ganges, distant from Calcutta by steamer in the days of the Mutiny about five hundred miles, and three hundred and seventy-six by land. Twelve miles below Dinapore, on the same side of the river, is the city of Patna, the capital of the province of Behar, "long celebrated in India," says an old traveller, "as the most fertile part of Hindustan." Patna, identified with the Pataliputra of ancient India, the Palibothra of the Greeks, was the actual seat of renowned Hindu Emperors, and it is the city at which Asoka (the

Patna, capital of Behar.

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 489.

Wise), whose Imperial sway extended over the whole of India except the extreme south, was crowned (269 B.C.) He replaced the wooden walls, which Megasthenes describes, by masonry ramparts, and he reared vast palaces and noble monasteries for the monks of the Buddhist Church, of which he became a devoted member. The name of the province still recalls to us the Buddhist creed. It is derived from the town of Behar, the seat of the great Vahara or College of Buddhist learning. In the early days of Muhammadan rule the Governor of the province resided at Behar; but when Sher Khan the Afghan rebelled against the Moghul Emperor and made himself master of Bengal, Patna again became an independent capital. The great Akbar reduced it to submission, and made his grandson Azim Governor, and hence it is called even in the present day Azimabad by Muhammadans. It soon became an important centre of their learning and devotion. Patna also marks an important stage in the history of British dominion in India. Ninety-four years before the Mutiny Casim Ali, the Nawab of Bengal, ordered in a moment of despair and sanguinary frenzy the murder of his European prisoners. The bloody work was done by Walter Remkardt, a renegade, who commanded a brigade in his army under the name of Sombre or Somroo.[1] On the 4th October 1763, Somroo, under

The massacre at Patna, 14th October 1763.

[1] "The real name of this adventurer is uncertain, as is his country. By one account he was a Frenchman, by another a German and a Protestant, a third reconciles the others by making him a native of

pretence of giving the prisoners an entertainment the following day, procured all their knives and forks. The morrow came. He went to the house with two companies of his sepoys, and having surrounded it he sent for some of the principal prisoners, who went out and were immediately cut to pieces and their remains thrown into a well. "The Sipahis now mounted the roof of the house, which was built in the form of a square, and fired down upon the remainder of the party, who were congregated in the centre court; those who escaped this volley sought shelter in the building, but were quickly followed by Somroo's Sipahis, and a fearful scene of slaughter ensued; the English, driven to desperation, defended themselves with bottles, bricks, and articles of furniture; and their very executioners, struck with their gallantry, requested that arms might be furnished to them, when they would set upon them and fight them till destroyed, but that this butchery of unarmed men was not the work for Sipahis, but for *hullal khores.* Somroo enraged, struck down those that objected, and compelled his men to proceed in their diabolical work until the whole were slain." Upwards of fifty civil and military officers and one hundred European soldiers were massacred that

Alsace. He was originally a carpenter, and afterwards a Serjeant in the French army."—"The Rise of the British Power in the East," by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone (1887), p. 398. Broome, in his "History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army," states that he originally was a butcher, born and bred at Strasburg, who came to India in the Swiss Company attached to the Bombay Europeans.

evening. Mr Fullerton, the surgeon at Patna, "whose medical ability had made him many friends," was the only European who escaped from Patna, having a few days before received a pardon from Casim. The butchery of Patna sealed the fate of Muhammadan rule in Bengal. The relieving force marched upon Patna, took it by storm, and Casim Ali fled into Oudh, accompanied by Somroo and his battalion of sepoys. In the following April the Nawab of Oudh, accompanied by Casim Ali and by Shah Alam the Great Moghul, the titular sovereign-paramount of all India, who had been driven out of Delhi by the Mahrattas, took the field at the head of an army thirty thousand strong, supported by a numerous artillery. The confederates attacked the British entrenched position at Patna, and were repulsed by the cool courage and discipline of the British troops. They retreated to Buxar on the Ganges, eighty miles above Patna, where their vast host encamped for the monsoon. On the 13th of August Major Hector Munro, one of the true builders of our Indian Empire, assumed command of the Bengal Army at Patna. He found, as was the case in 1857, that the number of European officers attached to the native regiments was too small to ensure an intimate connection with, or a sufficient check over the men. He found, as was the case after the Sutlej campaigns, that the sepoys were flushed with victory, and their feelings of discontent owing to the division of the donation money had been smoothed

Major Hector Munro assumes command of the Bengal Army, 13th August 1764.

and smothered, but neither removed nor crushed. Munro issued an order informing the native regiments that it was "his firm resolution to treat the Sepoys in every respect as soldiers, to give them all their just rights when they behaved well, and their just punishment when they behaved scandalously." Orders and professions have little effect in curing sedition when the disease affects a mercenary army, and Munro was prepared to suppress it by a severe and necessary example. The 9th Battalion broke into open mutiny at a small military station, and were taken prisoners by the Marines and a sepoy battalion. Munro, who had hastened to the spot, "ordered eight-and-twenty of the most culpable to be picked out and tried by a drum-head general court-martial, when the whole were sentenced to suffer death. The eight guns with the detachment being brought out, the first eight were fixed to their muzzles and blown away. Here it was that three of the grenadiers entreated to be fastened to the guns on the right, declaring that as they always fought on the right they hoped their last request would be complied with, by being suffered to die in the post of honour. Their petition was granted, and they were the first executed. I am sure there was not a dry eye amongst the Marines who witnessed this execution, although they had long been accustomed to hard service; and two of them had actually been on the execution party which shot Admiral Byng in the year 1757. The other twenty were ordered to the several stations of the army, where they all suf-

He suppresses a mutiny by a severe example.

fered death in the same manner."[1] Major Munro on his return to Patna caused six sepoys of other corps, who had been also convicted of mutiny, to be blown away from the guns at that station in the presence of the assembled troops. "This wholesome and well-timed display of resolution and severity effectually and completely suppressed the spirit of insubordination that had been so long existing in the native army."[2]

On the 9th of October 1764 Major Munro began his march northward, and fourteen days later the two armies stood face to face at Buxar. The British force consisted only of 857 Europeans, 5297 sepoys, and 918 native cavalry, with 20 field-pieces. Against them, drawn up in a formidable position, were numerous battalions of disciplined sepoys, eight field-pieces worked by European renegades and deserters, powerful batteries of artillery, consisting chiefly of heavy guns, while the vast body of cavalry included a corps of about 5000 Afghan Horse, who had served under

Battle of Buxar, 23rd October 1764.

[1] "An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry," by Captain Williams, pp. 170, 171. Captain Williams, who was then attached to the Marines, was present at the execution.

[2] Seventy-eight years rolled on. The mutinous 9th Battalion had become the First Regiment. In 1845, when the British were engaged in a mortal struggle with the Sikhs on the banks of the Sutlej, they were stationed at Dinapore, and it was discovered that some of them were implicated in a seditious conspiracy for corrupting the native army and overthrowing British rule. A Jemadar and Moonshee of the First Regiment were tried by court-martial and sentenced to death. But the sentence was not carried out, nor discipline fully vindicated. The Government had grown afraid of these mercenary troops. The result stands out in crimson letters on the page of the history of British dominion in India.

"the terrible" Ahmed Shah Abdally. At 8 A.M. the bloody contest began, and at sunset all was over. The confederate host, beaten from the field, were trying to force their way across a narrow stream. "Several thousand human beings perished in this attempt, either drowned in the stream or suffocated in the sand, until a bridge 300 yards long was actually formed by their bodies, over which the survivors escaped." The Nawab Vizier fled away to the Rohilla country, Shah Alam placed himself in the hands of the English, the British forces advanced across the Ganges to Benares and Allahabad, and then began the series of operations which closed at Gujerat (20th February 1849), where the last stern struggle for complete dominion in India was decided.

Dinapore made a cantonment.

The fort at Buxar was for some time our Northern frontier military post. Dinapore, the Peshawar of the day, was made a fine cantonment, with a noble range of barracks erected by the Company for their European soldiers. As the bounds of empire slowly extended, Dinapore became the headquarters of a vast military district or division. In May 1857 the force at the station consisted of the 7th, 8th, and 40th Native Infantry, a company of European and one of Native Artillery, and Her Majesty's 10th Foot. This was the only European regiment quartered between Calcutta and Cawnpore. The commander of the Division was Major-General Lloyd, who had seen fifty-three years' service, and had been selected only four years

before to suppress the Santhal insurrection, and the tact and discretion with which he accomplished a difficult task won the warm approval of Lord Dalhousie. He was, however, liable to attacks of gout which unfitted him for field service. Bankipore, the old military cantonment of Patna, had become a large civil station, the headquarters of one of the eleven divisions into which the vast territories under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal had been divided. The head of the division is a Commissioner, a member of the Indian Civil Service, who is the representative of the Government, and the superintendent of the districts into which his extensive charge is divided. The head of the district, equivalent to a "department" in France, is the Collector-Magistrate. As Collector, he is the agent of Government for the collection of the district revenues, as Magistrate, he has considerable judicial functions. At the time of the Mutiny the Patna Division was divided into the following districts: Saran on the north side of the Ganges; Tirhoot, adjoining it, but separated by the river Gandak; Chanparam, which marches with Nepal; south of the Ganges were Patna, Shahabad, on the borders of Benares, and Ghazipore and Gaya to the east of Shahabad, separated from it by the river Soane. The headquarters of the Commissioner was at Patna—which was also the headquarters of the district that bore its name. The other chief civil stations of the Patna Division were Chupra, forty miles to the north, the headquarters of the Saran District;

Mozufferpore, of Tirhoot; Motaharee, of Chanparam; Arrah, thirty-five miles west of Shahabad; and Gya, fifty miles to the south of the district of the same name. The Commissioner of the Patna Division was Mr William Tayler, a man of considerable culture, who was also born for administration and action. He was, however, prone to associate the elevation of his own personality with his administrative measures. He was quick and clever, but his judgment was not always clear, and he had not a sufficient regard for system. He had a difficult task to perform in keeping order in a great city swarming with fanatical Muhammadans and Hindu devotees. The policy of Tayler was to overawe the fanatics and suspected classes by repressive measures, which, however, engendered as much hatred as fear. "The part of a wise government," Lord Canning wrote, "is to keep such a population as that of the three great Lower Provinces in a loyal frame of mind. Can you do so if you proscribe, and scout as unworthy, whole classes?" He added these noble words—"As long as I have breath in my body I will pursue no other policy than that which I have been following—not only for the reason of expediency and policy above stated, but because it is just. I will not govern in anger. Justice, and that as stern and inflexible as law and might can make it, I will deal out. But I will never allow an angry or indiscriminating act or word to proceed from the Government of India as long as I am responsible for it."

Mr William Tayler.

Lord Canning's policy.

It was of vital importance that there should be no outbreak at Patna, and that the native troops should be kept in a loyal temper. As soon as Lord Canning heard of the mutiny at Meerut and the capture of Delhi by the rebels, he began to send up-country whatever troops he could spare. They were at first forwarded by the Grand Trunk road in horse vehicles or bullock waggons, but afterwards they were despatched on steamers. If there were an outbreak at Patna or a mutiny at Dinapore both routes would be blocked. There was no European regiment between Calcutta and Dinapore, and Lord Canning had to consider the interest and safety of an empire; Mr Tayler, merely of the Patna districts. The Commissioner, on hearing that disaffection in the out-stations had seriously increased, exhorted all the English officials to remain at their posts, and he rebuked the few who deserted them. He also took prompt measures for protecting the lives of the Europeans at Patna. On the evening of the 7th of June information reached the Commissioner that the Dinapore regiments would mutiny that night, and men, women, and children went to his house for safety. The next morning arrived at Patna a wing of Captain Rattray's battalion of Sikhs, which the Government of India had ordered by a telegraphic message to march to Dinapore "as soon as practicable."[1] On the 12th of June a

[1] The Secretary to the Government to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, May 19, 1857. It has been erroneously implied that Mr William Tayler summoned the Sikhs.

Nujeeb[1] belonging to the Behar local battalion was detected tampering with some of Captain Rattray's Sikhs, and endeavouring to excite them to rebellion. He was tried, convicted, and hanged. On the 18th of June Mr Tayler invited the native gentlemen of the city to visit him on the following day, "for consultation on the state of affairs." At the appointed time they met at his house in considerable numbers. Among them were three spiritual heads of the Wahabees, a sect of Muhammadan fanatics whose founder, Sayyed Ahmad, had fifty years before formed a permanent centre at Patna. Mr Tayler had these three men arrested in his house, and conveyed in their palanquins under a guard of Sikhs to the Circuit House, where "every comfort is allowed them." Mr Tayler admitted that "the actual evidence of their direct complicity in any of the conspiracies that have lately taken place is not such, at present, as to warrant any legal proceedings against them with the hope of establishing their guilt. The evidence consists of some letters produced by an informer, one of which appears to be genuine, the others may very well be fabricated." He added, "My real object, however, in placing these men under a lenient surveillance, was this: I am not aware whether the Lieutenant-Governor is well acquainted with the characteristics of the Wahabees, and it would take

Arrest of the Wahabee moulvies.

1 "*Nujeeb*, Hind. from Ar. *najib*, 'noble.' A kind of half-disciplined infantry soldiers under some of the native Governments; also at one time a kind of militia under the British; receiving this honorary title as being gentlemen volunteers."—"Hobson-Jobson," p. 631.

time fully to detail them; but I may here observe, that one of the most remarkable features in their sect is the fanatical devotion of the followers to their spiritual heads: this abnegation of self, and unquestioning submission to their religious leaders, combined with the great numbers of the sect, is what renders them dangerous. There is such a perfect understanding between them that little or no written correspondence is necessary; a message could be verbally communicated from Patna to all the neighbouring districts without a letter being written, and this with little chance of detection or legal proof; for their fidelity to one another is as remarkable as their subordination to their spiritual leaders. That in the event of any more serious crisis, and any eminent successes being obtained against us, these Wahabees would be ready to merge their own differences with other Mussulmans, and join in a crusade against the English, I have little doubt; but that there had been secret gatherings among them of late, I had ample information. I took possession of these leading men, therefore, more for the purpose of holding them as hostages for the good conduct of their whole brotherhood, than with the expectation of having sufficient evidence to punish them; and though it was a bold, and perhaps a dangerous stroke, and several of the more timid thought it might lead to resistance, I counted the cost, and am thankful to say that the result has more than answered my expectations." Time amply justified the action of Mr Tayler, but it must always be

a matter of regret that the mode of arrest was not more in accordance with faith and honour. The Bengal Government refused to believe in the Wahabee conspiracy. On the 21st of May Herbert Edwardes discovered at Peshawar that "the most rancorous and seditious letters had been intercepted from Mahomedan bigots in Patna and Thanesar to soldiers of the 64th Native Infantry, revelling in the atrocities that had been committed in Hindustan on the men, women, and children of the 'Nazarenes,' and sending them messages from their own mothers that they should emulate these deeds, and if they fell in the attempt they would at least go to heaven, and their deaths in such a case would be pleasant news at home."[1] It was after the Wahabees of Patna had plunged us into several frontier expeditions that the machinations of their widespread conspiracy were laid bare.

Trial of eleven Wahabees in 1865.

Eight years after the Mutiny, in 1865, eleven Wahabees, five of them being residents of Patna, were tried for "attempting to wage war and abetting." The chief conspirator was the High Priest of Patna. He was found guilty, and sentenced to transportation for life. Sir Herbert Edwardes, who tried the case, said—"It is proved against the prisoner that he has been the mainspring of the great treason which this trial has laid bare. He has been the religious preacher, spreading from his mosque at Patna, under the most solemn sanctity, the hateful principles of the Crescentade. He has enlisted subordinate agents to collect

[1] "Punjab Mutiny Report," pp. 69, 70.

money, and preach the Moslem Jehad. He has deluded hundreds and thousands of his countrymen into treason and rebellion. He has plunged the Government of British India by his intrigues into a frontier war which has cost hundreds of lives. He is a highly educated man, who can plead no excuse of ignorance. What he has done, he has done with forethought, resolution, and the bitterest treason." The brother of the high priest was one of the Wahabees arrested by Tayler. He was, after the Mutiny, appointed by the Bengal Government to a responsible office on a handsome salary, and made a member of the Patna Committee of Public Instruction. In 1865 he was tried for a similar offence, found guilty, and awarded transportation for life. The story of the Wahabee conspiracy is full of instruction to the English statesman and Indian administrator. The atmosphere may be calm on the surface under British rule, but beneath a thin crust the volcanic fires of fanaticism and bigotry still smoulder, wide-spreading religious movements of which the authorities are unconscious arise, and there are always men like the highly educated Wahabee conspirator, who will use them with Oriental craft and secrecy to subvert an alien government, however benevolent be its intention.

Mr Tayler's proclamation.

The day after the arrest of the Wahabee conspirators at Patna by Mr Tayler two startling things were done. The Commissioner issued a proclamation calling upon all citizens to deliver up their arms within twenty-four hours. He also ordered that no

citizens, except those specially exempted, should leave their homes after nine o'clock at night. Both orders were illegal; they could not be enforced with any prospect of success; and they were provocations to rebellion. The Bengal Government, with whom Mr Tayler was in telegraphic communication, should have been referred to before their issue. The tone of the letters sent to the Commissioner by the Secretariat were too recriminatory, and they suffered from a fatal defect in an official correspondence—an attempt to be clever. But the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal had substantial reasons for complaint as to Mr Tayler's mode of conducting official business.[1] After the Commissioner had been twice and thrice requested that his communications should contain fuller information of his proceedings, the Secretary to the Bengal Government wrote on the 27th of June: "It is very probable you may be doing all that is right, and the Lieutenant-Governor is willing to place all reasonable confidence in your zeal and discretion; but that you should keep the Govern-

Letter from the Bengal Government, 27th June 1858.

[1] Sir John Kaye writes: "Not only was it his wont to do his work in his own way without consulting any one—to do it first, and to write to Government afterwards,—but sometimes, in the hurry and crush of overwhelming business, he did it without reporting it at all; and this irritated superior authority. The same thing was being done on a larger scale elsewhere; but Patna was comparatively near to Calcutta, and Calcutta had not yet released itself from the coils of the red tape. Those were days when men—the best of our men, the men, indeed, who saved the country—thought more of doing than of writing. But bureaucracy was still fain to assert that there could be no duty on the part of a public functionary more urgent than that of reporting his proceedings to Government. It is not too much to say that if this duty had been generally recognised we should have lost India."—"History of Sepoy War," vol. iii. pp. 163, 164.

ment wholly in the dark for days and days together, while you darkly intimate that you are adopting measures of great responsibility and importance is, I am directed to say, quite intolerable. It is impossible that you should have anything to do of greater importance than of keeping the Government informed of your proceedings. Should this most unsatisfactory state of things not be speedily amended, the Lieutenant-Governor, I am directed to say, will be constrained to supersede you (however unwillingly), in order that he may have at Patna an officer who will keep up the proper and necessary communication with his superiors. But he trusts that you will not force him to this extremity." Two days later the Lieutenant-Governor received a demi-official letter from the Commissioner, dated 25th: "Short, hasty, uncommunicative, and unsatisfactory." The Assistant Secretary wrote: "The Lieutenant-Governor would earnestly caution you against unnecessary harshness, and against all illegal proceedings. In the imperfect light you have thought fit to afford him, the Lieutenant - Governor can only partly and doubtfully perceive that you seem to have been acting in a very unusual and questionable manner. You may possibly have good reasons to give for it all, though you have not yet assigned them. The strong dissatisfaction of the Lieutenant-Governor at this mode of proceeding, on your part, has already been very distinctly expressed to you." On the 2nd of July the Commissioner of Patna replied as follows: "In continuation of my letter of the

29th ultimo, and with reference to the observations recorded by the Lieutenant-Governor in regard to the measures lately adopted by me, I have the honour to request that no decision may be formed in regard to those measures until it be ascertained how much they have conduced to the security and confidence of all around, to the entire submissiveness of the town, and to the feeling, especially valuable and important at this juncture, that matters will be carried by us with a high hand, and that it behoves all the Company's subjects, not only not to conspire against the State or insult its officers, but to show, by a submissive and respectful demeanour, that they recognise and fear the constituted authorities. I hope I am not asking much in begging to be allowed to judge of such matters from my local experience and observation. The Lieutenant - Governor knows that I am not disposed to deal harshly with natives, without cause; but if, at such a time, I were to shrink from the responsibility of adopting bold and decisive measures, I should be unworthy of the post I hold, or the confidence of Government."

Riot in Patna.

On the evening of the following day there was a riot in the town reduced to "entire submissiveness." A large body of Muhammadans, "according to a plan," says Mr Tayler, "which appeared to have been concerted some few days previously, issued into the streets with two large flags, and a drum beating: the cry of 'Ali! Ali! Deen!' was immediately raised; and the party proceeded at once to the Roman Catholic mission-house, with the declared

intention of murdering the priest. He, however, had fortunately escaped before their arrival; and they left the house reiterating their cries, and calling on the people to join them." On hearing what was taking place, Dr R. Lyell, assistant to the opium agent, ordered fifty of the Nujeebs to load and follow him, and, accompanied by eight Sikhs, he hastened to the scene of tumult. On approaching the rioters he rode forward to expostulate with them. "He was shot dead from his horse, and before any man could come to his rescue some wretches rushed forward and hacked his face with their swords. On the approach of the Sikhs and Nujeebs they all fled; their flags and some arms were taken. One of the rebellious party was killed, another severely wounded."[1] The swift and total failure of this attempted rising showed, as the magistrate wrote at the time, the inability of the Patna people to rebel. On the information of one of the wounded, Peer Ali Khan, a Muhammadan bookseller, was arrested, "after some resistance," his house searched, and a considerable quantity of

[1] Colonel Malleson writes: "The sight of a fallen European stimulated the fanaticism of the crowd, and produced on them the effect which the taste of blood arouses in a hungry tiger. They pushed onwards with renewed enthusiasm, their numbers being augmented at every step. In a very few minutes, however, they found themselves face to face with Rattray's 150 Sikhs. Between the opposing parties, far from sympathy, there was the hatred of race, the hatred of religion; on the one side the newly aroused fanaticism, on the other, the longed-for opportunity to repay many a covert insult. It can well be imagined what followed. There was not a moment of parley. The rival parties instantaneously clashed, and in a few seconds the discipline and bayonets of the Sikhs suppressed the long-threatened Patna rising."—"The Indian Mutiny," by Colonel Malleson, vol. i. pp. 56, 57.

arms and treasonable correspondence found in it. He was tried, convicted, and hanged, and sixteen of the rioters who were convicted by the Commission were also executed at the same time. Mr Tayler, whose taste for the dramatic was supreme, wrote to the Bengal Government: "I have ordered his house to be rased to the ground, and a post placed on the spot, with a notice, stating that he and thirteen of his accomplices have been hanged, and that if such a combination and conspiracy is again discovered I will make all the ward responsible." On the 23rd of June a native police officer was arrested at Tirhoot, in the very act of conducting a treasonable correspondence with some disaffected Muhammadans of Patna, and sent there to be tried. Mr Tayler states in his report: "I postponed his trial for two or three days after his arrival, and had several private interviews with him, hoping by such means to elicit information; but he was evidently not in the secrets of the leaders, as he could tell me nothing more than what I already knew from other sources; and he was in such excessive alarm and despair, that I am convinced he would have done anything to save his life. When speaking in private with me, he implored me to tell him whether there was any way in which his life could be spared. I said, 'Yes,' and his eyes opened with unmistakable delight; and when he asked again what the way was, his countenance was a picture of anxiety, hope, and terror. I told him, 'I will make a bargain with you; give me three lives, and I will give you yours.' He then told me all the names I already knew, but could disclose

nothing further. He was evidently not clever enough to be a confidant." After every allowance had been made for the exigencies of a great crisis, it is strange that an English gentleman did not feel that the action needed justification. About the guilt of Waris Ali there was not the least doubt, and he was hanged. On the 8th of July Mr Tayler wrote to the Bengal Government: "Syud Lootf Ali Khan, the banker, is in jail on a charge of harbouring a sepoy, and the fact of one of the principal rebels being an old servant of his will justify proceedings against him on the charge of being an accomplice and aiding the rebellion." The richest banker in Patna was tried by the senior judge, Mr Farquharson, and acquitted. The better classes, divided between rage and consternation, began to leave the city. The measures which Mr Tayler adopted to overawe and suppress were bound to arouse the suspicions and fears of the people and sepoys. The policy he adopted was not the policy of Lord Canning, nor of Henry Lawrence, Montgomery, or John Lawrence. They were prepared to crush rebellion remorselessly, but their first aim was to quench smouldering rage, panic, and despair by firm and benevolent action. "Don't mistake violence for vigour," were the wise words of Lord Canning.

Arrest of Syud Lootf Ali, the banker.

In reply to a question about Dinapore, Lord Canning wrote to Lord Granville: "There is a good deal of misapprehension here, as well as in England, as to the practicability and the wisdom of disarming. It is a measure which has been expedient or not, according to circumstances of which none but those on the spot, or possessed of

Lord Canning's letter to Lord Granville.

full information, could judge." The misapprehension was in a large measure due to the contrast between the prompt disarming of the native regiments in the Punjab and the course pursued in the other provinces. But the circumstances were wholly dissimilar. In the Punjab there were some thousands of British soldiers; between Agra and Calcutta, two English regiments; between Dinapore and Calcutta, no English regiment. In Bengal considerable difficulty and risk must attend the disarming of the native regiments scattered singly or in detachments through the province at stations far removed from European troops.[1] In the Punjab the sepoy was a thousand miles away from his home, and surrounded by an alien and hostile population. "The Sikhs hate them," wrote Robert Montgomery soon after the mutiny at Lahore, "and if a regiment breaks and runs, the whole population is after them. The sepoys are strangers in a strange land. They have no sympathy from the people, and are not protected or concealed." In Bengal the sepoy was near his own home; the people were in sympathy with him; he was concealed or protected by them; he went from station to station spreading the flame of insurrection; and when he reached his home in Oudh he was regarded as a hero or martyr. At Dinapore the sepoys were on the borders of the district of Shahabad, from which they were largely recruited.

On the 3rd of June 1857, the 7th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry was paraded at Dinapore

[1] Lord Canning to Mr Vernon Smith.

to have read to them the eloquent address which the Governor-General had made to the 70th Native Infantry at Bankipore, who had not only remained loyal but had petitioned to march against Delhi. The petition and address having been read, the native commissioned officers came up to the Colonel and presented to him a petition of their own, signed by two native commissioned officers and five native non-commissioned officers on the part of the regiment. The petition expressed in glowing language their allegiance.[1] It is impossible to say that the

Petition of the 7th Bengal Native Infantry at Dinapore.

[1] "At present the men of bad character in some regiments, and other people in the direction of Meerut and Delhi, have turned from their allegiance to the bountiful government, and created a seditious disturbance, and have made choice of the ways of ingratitude, and thrown away the character of sepoys true to their salt.

"At present it is well known that some European regiments have started to punish and coerce these rebels; we trust that by the favour of the bountiful government, we also may be sent to punish the enemies of the government, wherever they are; for if we cannot be of use to government at this time, how will it be manifest and known to the state that we are true to our salt? Have we not been entertained in the army for days like the present? In addition to this, government shall see what their faithful sepoys are like, and we will work with heart and soul to do our duty to the state that gives us our salt.

"Let the enemies of government be who they may, we are ready to fight them, and to sacrifice our lives in the cause.

"We have said as much as is proper; may the sun of your wealth and prosperity ever shine.

"The petition of your servants:

HEERA SING, *Subadar*,
ELLAHEE KHAN, *Subadar*,
BHOWANY SING, *Jemadar*,
MUNROOP SING, *Jemadar*,
HEERA SING, *Jemadar*,
ISSEREE PANDY, *Jemadar*,
MURDAN SING, *Jemadar*,

of the Burra Crawford's, or 7th regiment, native infantry, and of every non-commissioned officer and sepoy in the lines. Presented on the 3rd June 1857."

offer to punish the enemies of the Government was not at the time sincere. The Oriental is a child of impulse, and no man can tell what he will do when excitement or panic assails him. On the 7th of June news reached Dinapore of the disarming of the sepoys at Benares,[1] and created a profound sensation among the native regiments. General Lloyd asserts that had it not been for the influence and exertions of their European officers they would have deserted with their arms that night. "Subordination was, however, preserved," he writes, "and the men were reassured and remained faithful. I had landed 150 men of the Madras Fusiliers, with the intention of disarming the native corps, but as I was quite aware the men might have decamped with their arms in spite of anything I could do, I was glad to be able to defer such a measure for the present, particularly as it was of great importance to push on European troops towards the north-west, as the only means of saving our officers and men still holding out in these parts." The position and construction of the Dinapore cantonment rendered it difficult to prevent the men from decamping with their arms. It was situated on a narrow strip of land bounded on the north by the Ganges and on the south by a deep nullah, and the country around was "swampy—rice-fields—in fact, a perfect sea in the rains." At the eastern extremity of the station nearest to Patna is the native town, and close to it is an extensive square of barracks for the British soldiers. Adjoining it on its western

The position of the Dinapore cantonment.

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 356, 357.

side is a smaller square for the officers. Farther west were a few detached houses, and beyond them the lines or huts occupied by the sepoys. At the extreme western point of the cantonment was the magazine. To reach the native regiments the European troops would have to march some distance, and long before they could arrive the news of the movement would reach the sepoys. General Lloyd had therefore substantial reason for saying that the locality was against disarming. He, however, regarded an outbreak as a possible contingency, and he "issued written instructions relative to the course to be pursued by the European troops acting against them." The Colonel of Artillery said the bullocks for the guns could be harnessed in a moment and he would not be "caught napping." The month of June passed. There was no sign of a mutiny. The repressive measures at Patna were, however, bound to affect the native regiments. The question of disarming them was publicly canvassed at Calcutta—a very unwise proceeding, as the sepoys were bound to hear of the discussion, and it tended to confirm the rumour that had been spread by the propagators of rebellion that at the first opportunity the Government would land more European soldiers and destroy them. On the 5th of July, the 5th Fusiliers, 800 strong, arrived at Calcutta, and seven days later were despatched by a steamer up the Ganges. A large number of the mercantile community at Calcutta knew that a revolt in the indigo districts of Behar would entail on them a serious pecuniary loss, as they had

advanced money on the growing crops. They felt that a mutiny of the native regiments would be followed by a general outbreak in the districts. On the 20th of July they sent a deputation to Lord Canning, asking him to land the Fusiliers at Dinapore and in conjunction with the 10th Foot disarm the native regiments. The Governor-General refused. He considered it was a measure the expediency of which only the responsible military officer on the spot possessed of full information could judge. A communication on the subject had already been sent to General Lloyd. On the 15th of July Sir Patrick Grant wrote confidentially to him as follows: "The first detachment of Her Majesty's Fifth Fusiliers left Chinsurah this morning on flats towed by steamers in progress towards Benares, and the remaining portions of the regiments will follow by the same means of transit to-morrow and Friday. If, when the regiment reaches Dinapore, you see reason to distrust the native troops, and you entertain an opinion that it is desirable to disarm them, you are at liberty to disembark the Fifth Fusiliers to assist you in this object; but it is imperatively necessary that the detention of the regiment should be limited to the shortest possible period. If you decide on disarming, it should extend to all three regiments, and it should be carefully explained that it is merely a measure of precaution to save the well-disposed from being led to commit themselves by the evil machinations of designing scoundrels, some few of whom are always to be found in even the best

A deputation to Lord Canning.

Letter from Sir Patrick Grant to General Lloyd, 15th July 1858.

regiment. If resistance to authority is exhibited, the most prompt and decided measures for its instant suppression should be adopted." On the 22nd of July a body of the Fusiliers reached Dinapore and were allowed to proceed on their journey. It was imperatively necessary that Havelock's force should be strengthened without any delay. On the 24th two companies of the 37th touched at Dinapore and were disembarked. The General had been told by the Commander-in-Chief that if he decided on disarming it should extend to all three regiments, and it should be explained that it was merely a measure of precaution. "On the 24th of July I made up my mind," General Lloyd says, "as a precautionary to have all the percussion-caps in the native magazine at the western extremity of the cantonment removed, so as to render the sepoys almost harmless, without subjecting them to the degradation of being deprived of their arms, with the contingent probability that, so disgraced, they would take to flight and disorganise the whole country around, thereby causing serious embarrassment to Government when all its force was urgently needed above."[1] It was the fatal half-course. On the following morning the European troops were drawn up in the barrack-square and two bullock-carts were sent for the caps. On the return journey, while passing the native lines, the men of the 7th and 8th Regiments caught sight of them and shouted—"They are taking away our ammunition! Stop it, kill the Sahibs." They rushed

Mutiny at Dinapore, 25th July 1858.

[1] General Lloyd's Letter. Dinapore, September 3rd.

forward to seize them, but the officers went among their men, pacified them, and the carts were suffered to proceed. "The 40th Native Infantry made a decided demonstration towards the cause of order and discipline, being ready to oppose any attempt to rescue the caps." The General now decided to deprive the sepoys of the remaining caps. "But wishing to avoid driving them to oppose or to disperse, and thinking that the men would feel it quite madness to attempt resistance with only fifteen caps per man, I, finding no commanding officer of a native corps had any doubt of the success of the measure, gave orders for their collection in the lines by the native officers quietly by 1 P.M., it being then near 10 A.M. It was thought they would be given up without any demur." When the native officers attempted to carry out this futile order the 7th and 8th would not give up their caps, but some of the 40th complied. The European officers belonging to these regiments proceeded to the lines and endeavoured to persuade the men to obey the order, but their efforts were unavailing. "The sepoys told their officers," says a medical officer who was present, "to be off, and fired upon them, but happily without killing or wounding any of them. The hospital guard saw all this; and perceiving the officers running towards the 10th lines the signal guns were fired off from the hospital. The whole of my patients got on the top of it. They kept up a steady fire, and managed, infirm in health as they were, to kill about a dozen of the scoun-

drels."[1] The assembly was sounded, and the English infantry and artillery having been mustered, marched out of the barrack squares. "Some of the 37th (Queen's) who arrived here the day before were thrown out in skirmishing order. The 10th advanced with their guns; and great was our mortification when we perceived the sepoys running across the country like deer." The guns opened at a long range, and the 10th and 37th fired "also at impossible distances, and the whole of the three regiments fled *en masse;* even the sick in the hospital went. Pursuit was hopeless: the parade was mostly under water, and the country beyond a vast swamp. On hearing the signal guns General Lloyd, who had no horse in cantonment, and was unable to go far on foot, thought he should be most useful on board a steamer which had arrived that morning with guns and riflemen. The Arrah road ran beside the river, and if the sepoys fled along it the steamer would have been only some two hundred yards distant from their flank; and the General "expected to get some good shots at the sepoys." Several boats laden with the fleeing rebels

[1] Letter from a medical officer dated 2nd August. General Lloyd writes: "The 40th Native Infantry did not at first join; but being fired upon by men of the 10th from the roof of the European hospital, they went off and joined the mutineers."

Kaye states: "The Fortieth, however, hesitated. There was still some sense of duty left in them. The native officers and non-commissioned officers, and some of the sepoys, formed and marched into the square with their colours and treasure, intending to defend them; and it is possible that the whole regiment might have stood fast; but in a critical moment of doubt and perplexity some Europeans of the Tenth fired upon them from the roof of the hospital, and panic completed what disaffection had only half done."

were run down by the steamer and some of the inmates shot or drowned, but the majority of the sepoys did not take to the road by the river, but having crossed the swamp behind the magazine and the nullah full of water, took up their position on the road from Patna, *viâ* the town of Phoolwaree fifteen miles from Patna, towards Arrah, with the road to Gya open in their rear. "It was uncertain," says General Lloyd, "which road they would take; or they might have taken all three and visited the three places. Two guns and a detachment were therefore sent off to protect Patna, leaving only 500 men and four guns at Dinapore." The object of the mutineers was, however, to enter the district of Shahabad, which is divided for some fifteen miles from the Patna District by the river Soane that runs into the Ganges about ten miles above Dinapore. The day after the mutiny (Sunday the 26th) the General sent off a detachment of riflemen in a troop-boat attached to a steamer up the Soane, "expecting at that season there would have been sufficient water; but unfortunately the steamer could not get up high enough, and returned in the evening without having effected anything." As troops were required at Buxar, this steamer started next day with some of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers arrived from Calcutta. In the evening another steamer, the *Horungotta*, arrived from Patna. "She was at once sent off with another detachment, to be landed at a point nine miles from Arrah — to march thence and bring away the civilians, &c., there besieged. This was a much

nearer way than their marching by the Arrah road; the boats at the Koelwar Ghaut, moreover, having been all removed by the rebels after crossing to the other side of the river. Most unfortunately, this steamer ran on to a sandbank, and could not be got off. No other steamer was available all day." In the evening a steamer and flat arrived from Allahabad, full of passengers for Calcutta. "It was at once arranged that they should be all landed and accommodated in the church, and that the steamer should, with her own flat, embark the headquarters and 250 men of the 10th and some Sikhs—go and pick up the other flat at the sandbank, and tow up both flats, with a detachment (altogether consisting of about 500 men), to the ghaut on the Ganges, nearest to Arrah. This was all arranged, and Colonel Fenwick was to command. Early next morning the commander of the steamer changed his mind, and said he could not tow two flats; consequently, the party had to be reduced by 100 men; and therefore Colonel Fenwick remained, and sent Captain Dunbar in command." Mr McDonell, the Magistrate of Chuprah, Mr Ross Mangles, and four others, volunteered to go with the troops. The former had volunteered to "show them another way to Arrah where the steamer was sure not to stick," and said that he knew the road from the landing-place to the capital of Shahabad.

Troops sent to relieve Arrah.

About two o'clock on the afternoon of the 29th the troops disembarked at the landing-place selected by Mr McDonell. About two miles from the ghaut was a river, after crossing which a

Captain Dunbar's march to Arrah.

highroad to Arrah was reached. Mr McDonell volunteered to go on with a small body of Sikhs and secure the boats for crossing the detachment. Lieutenant Ingilby with fifteen men (Sikhs of the 7th and 8th Native Infantry, whom he had taken from Dinapore with him), and accompanied by McDonell as guide, advanced, and on reaching the river found all the boats drawn up on the other side and about two hundred sepoys guarding them. "They had four or five of those long native guns stuck on three sticks, and began blazing at us; whereupon two of our party said they would return for aid. We told them particularly not to disturb the Europeans, but to ask for the rest of the Sikhs, fifty being sufficient to dislodge the enemy. We immediately set to work, and blazed across the river, and soon set all the fellows running. Two Sikhs then swam across and got a small boat, in which Ingilby, Garston, and myself with ten Sikhs crossed. We were hardly across when, to our disgust, we saw all the Europeans coming up at the double-quick—these fools having reported that we were surrounded; so the 10th came away without getting their dinners, or even a drop of grog, and had brought nothing with them. We all crossed, and by the time we were in marching order it was four o'clock."[1] They

[1] Letter from W. McDonell, September 3, 1857. Lieutenant Waller, 40th Native Infantry, in his report to the Assistant Adjutant-General, dated 31st July, states: "Lieutenant Ingilby then proceeded with fifteen men (Sikhs of the 7th and 8th Native Infantry, whom he had taken from Dinapore with him) to a nullah about two miles off, for the purpose of seizing the boats to cross the detachment. About twenty minutes after Lieutenant Ingilby had left, I heard

knew that Wake, the Magistrate of Howrah, and his small band were being sore pressed by the mutineers. They heard from the villagers the joyful news that they "were still all right and holding out, which was confirmed by the firing we heard, in the direction of Arrah, of big guns." Arrah was only twelve miles away and they would soon be relieved. The fiery sun had withdrawn and the full moon shed a clear white light over the wooded country. The order was given to start. Twenty Sikhs under Ingilby formed the vanguard, then came 150 of the 10th, then 50 Sikhs under Waller, and 200 of Her Majesty's 37th brought up the rear. They had marched along the road some four miles when they saw ten or twelve horsemen in front. "However, they galloped off before any damage could be done to them." The country road was very uneven, and the men were soon foot-weary. About 10 P.M. they halted at the Kai-nugger bridge, about three miles from Arrah. Captain Harrison, the second in command, and

shots in the direction of the nullah, and immediately started with my fifty men; but when I got up to the place the firing had ceased, except a few shots which were fired to stop a boat that was sailing up the river. Although desired to stop, Lieutenant Ingilby then crossed the nullah with his fifteen men, leaving me on the other side. I then sent off one of my men to Captain Dunbar, to tell him we needed no assistance, hoping I should be in time to prevent his coming with his detachment, who were cooking when I left; but they had got about half-way before my messenger reached them. Upon the arrival of the 10th and 37th Regiments at the nullah, the order was given to cross, which took up a long time, as the current of the river was very strong, and the boats large and heavy; we had finished crossing by six o'clock P.M., and then commenced our march." Mr Ross Mangles states: "It was nearly seven o'clock before we got well off."
—Letter, Patna, July 31st.

some others urged Captain Dunbar to halt there for the night. They suspected that the horsemen they had seen were watching their movements, and as the moon had begun to set they might easily fall into an ambuscade. The men were worn out with marching and want of food; some lay down on the wet mud to sleep. But it was for no long while. After waiting half an hour for the provisions to arrive, Dunbar determined to push on. He had been informed by Wake that his advance would not be opposed. They again started, and went along the uneven road between lines of trees, Ingilby, Dunbar, and McDonell with about twenty Sikhs in advance of the main body. As the moon sunk lower and the darkness deepened they entered a mango grove. They had nearly got through it when a flame of fire ran along the thick black trees on the left, followed by the rattle of musketry, and the dead and wounded lay thick. The compact formation of the column was swiftly lost. McDonell, Dunbar, three of the 10th, and two Sikhs got behind the trees and returned the fire. Volleys of musketry blazed around them. "Poor Dunbar," McDonell writes, "fell against me mortally wounded. I was covered with his blood." Courage, strength, even the keenest sight, were of no avail. "In the night it was difficult to tell friend from foe," and the men scattered in groups of fifties and twenties fired in every direction and often killed their own comrades. At last "a Captain Jones, a very fine fellow," got hold of a bugler and got the men together in a sort of hollow place, a half-filled pond. It was sheltered

The troops surprised.

by a bank. "Young Anderson, a very nice young fellow, of the 22nd Native Infantry (a volunteer), was standing up behind the hedge; he was shot through the head, and jumped up like a buck, of course killed on the spot." All night they lay crouched in the tank. "I was in the middle," says Ross Mangles, "with the doctor, helping him to tie up the wounds of the poor fellows, and bringing them water. The firing was all this time going on. The enemy could see us, as we were all dressed in white, while they were nearly naked, and behind trees and walls. However, the men fired about at random. At last the poor doctor was knocked over, badly wounded. It was dreadful to hear the poor wounded fellows asking for help."

Day broke and showed "the three Dinapore regiments drawn up in order, with bugles sounding the advance; about 2000 men with long matchlocks, belonging to and headed by Baboo Koer Sing, and more than 1000 of the disbanded sepoys who had managed to join him, and a large rabble armed with swords, spears, &c., not formidable in themselves, but who were occupied in killing all the wounded, beating them like dogs." They counted their men and found that they were about 350 strong—100 missing.[1] A council of war was held, and it was determined to retreat. It would have been the better policy for them, wearied and famished as they were, and without a leader, to have advanced. They were only half a mile away

[1] "Afterwards about 50 of these joined us, being concealed in a village close by, the rest were killed."—Letter of Mr William McDonell, 3rd September 1857.

from Arrah. As soon as they had started on their return journey the mutineers opened on them with a tremendous fire. "The ditches, the jungles, the houses, and in fact every place of cover along the road was lined with sepoys. We kept up a fire as we went along; but what could we do? We could see no enemy, only puffs of smoke. We tried to charge, but there was nobody to charge: on all sides they fired into us, and were scattered all over the country in groups of tens and twenties." Many fell dead, yet many suffered more deeply still. There were no dhoolies for the wounded, who trailed along their wounded limbs, or were left to be butchered or hanged. But there was many a deed of noble and surpassing bravery.

Noble conduct of Dennis Dempsey and Ross Mangles.

Two privates of the 10th carried a wounded officer of their regiment the last five miles of the road.[1] Young Ross Mangles also "carried a poor young fellow who begged me not to leave him, and though we had nothing to eat for more than twenty-four hours, and I had had no sleep for two nights, I never felt so strong in my life, and I stepped out with the man as if he had been a feather, though he was as big as myself."[2] A hundred had fallen when the river glistening in the sunshine was seen. "The boats, which we expected to have been taken away, were all there; so, with a cheer, we all rushed to them, when, to our dismay, we found

[1] One of the privates was Dennis Dempsey, who for this and other subsequent acts of valour was awarded the Victoria Cross.

[2] Letter of Ross Mangles, dated 31st of July 1857. Ross Mangles was also awarded the Cross of Valour.

they had fastened them securely to the shore, and had dragged them up out of the water, placing, about 300 yards off, a small cannon, with which they blazed into us." Forward they rushed and went into the boats to escape the shots which rang out on all sides. They made desperate efforts to push off the beached boats. But the majority of them were too large to be moved. Then like men distraught many jumped out, threw away their clothes and arms, and sprang into the river. A few reached the other side. "The wounded men, of course, could not swim, and some of us knew that we could never reach the shore; so out we jumped, and managed to get two of the boats off: well, then we were at the mercy of the wind and stream, for not an oar had they left us. The wind was favourable, and we started off splendidly, when, lo and behold! we gradually turned towards the shore; and then I saw they had tied our rudder, so as to bring us in again. I told the men to cut it, but no one moved, and so I got a knife and climbed up to the rudder. It was one of those country boats, covered in except just at the stern. The moment they saw what I was at, they blazed at me; but God in His mercy preserved me. Two bullets went through my hat, but I was not touched. The rope was cut, and we were saved; but about half-way across we struck on a sandbank, and then the bullets poured in so fast, that nearly every one jumped overboard." [1]

Gallant action of McDonell.

[1] Captain Medhurst of the 60th Rifles, formerly of the 10th Foot, wrote in his official account as follows: "On the ill-fated expedition

Two hundred and fifty, out of the four hundred and fifty who had marched from the river the previous night, reached the opposite bank. They started at once for the steamer. It was soon reached, and after the miserable remnant had embarked, the vessel moved down the stream on its way to Dinapore. When she anchored opposite the hospital the women sped from the barracks with beating hearts and came to the bank of the river. But when they heard the evil thing that had happened, wailing with deep sobs they cursed those who had brought them to misery.

retiring from Arrah on the morning of the 30th July 1857, and on arriving at the village and stream of Bherara, as is well known, the men, exhausted and dispirited, broke and made for the only six large country boats moored close to the right bank. After assisting some wounded men into the farthest boat, and being myself pulled in, I saw that Mr M'Donnell, who was one of our number, was exerting himself with a sergeant to move the boat into the stream. It being discovered that the boat was bound to the bank, one or two men jumped out and loosened the rope, and the boat moved. Assisted by the less exhausted of my party, I was keeping up a fire of Enfields on the enemy, whose musketry was very galling. Whilst so employed, I heard Mr M'Donnell call out for a knife to cut away some rope which bound the rudder to the right, causing the lumbering boat to veer round into the right shore again, and for a time causing it to stick fast. On looking round I saw him seated on the stern extremity of the boat in full view of the enemy, and quite exposed to their fire. He cut away the mentioned rope, and guiding the rudder himself, a fortunate breeze carried our boat across the stream, grounding at about ten yards from the left bank, whereby all those who were alive were enabled to jump out and reach the steamer in safety. The number of men thus saved was about thirty-five; and during the passage across three men were shot dead, one was mortally, and two or three slightly, wounded. I may safely assert that it was owing to Mr M'Donnell's presence of mind, and at his personal risk, that our boat got across on that day."—Kaye, vol. iii. p. 120 note.

Mr McDonell obtained the Victoria Cross.



THE SIEGE OF ARRAH.

CHAPTER XIV.

On the 8th of June Mr Wake, the Magistrate of the Shahabad District, received a letter from the Commissioner of Patna, informing him that there was ground to apprehend a mutiny of the sepoys at Dinapore. Arrah, the chief town and head-quarters of the district, was only twenty-five miles west of that cantonment. The day after the receipt of the grave intelligence a council was held at the magistrate's house, and it was decided that the women and children should be sent, by the Ganges, for safety to Dinapore. The following day they embarked on some country boats. Herwald Wake—quick-tempered, energetic, and full of courage—and the few Europeans who remained in the station, established a place of rendezvous where they constantly met. The place selected was the house of Mr Boyle, District Engineer of the Railway Company. He had witnessed the Sonthal rebellion, and had hence derived a profound conviction of the insecurity of our position, and, without letting any one know what he was doing,[1] he fortified a house in his grounds some fifty yards south of the main residence. He laid in a small store of provision and as much ammunition as he could find. When

Arrah.

[1] Letter of Herwald Wake, 7th February 1859.

his comrades discovered what he had done, "there was a good deal of chaff" at the idea of a few men holding the garden house against sepoys and villagers. This was before the arrival of the Sikhs. On the 29th of June Mr Tayler wrote to the Government of Bengal: "Great praise is due to Mr Wake for his energy and firmness. On Saturday last I received a letter from the magistrate, stating that numerous sepoys, with arms and plunder, had marched through the station, threatening everybody they saw, and had settled in a village near Arrah; and that he and his police were powerless to arrest them. I sent off the subadar of Captain Rattray's regiment, with six troopers and fifty soldiers, and instructed the magistrate to take immediate measures for seizing the sepoys; and if resistance was made, to make a severe example of the zemindars and villagers, which the force with him would enable him to do. This rapid movement will, I trust, have the best effect, if, as Mr Wake supposes, there is any intention to resist. He considers that the apprehension and execution of sepoys in Shahabad may cause a rebellion, as the district is so full of their relations." On the morning of the 26th of July a sowar galloped into Arrah and reported that a number of sepoys had crossed the Soane, and many more were crossing. About ten o'clock two railway inspectors rode into the station and brought the evil tidings that a large force of sepoys were burning the railway works and the surrounding houses, and that they had just

escaped in time. All the day efforts were made to ascertain the strength of the mutineers, but no information could be gleaned. "One of the Government officers and I rode out half-way," says Boyle, "but could not get any positive account or intelligence of their numbers; and as the despatches sent from Dinapore to warn us had been intercepted, we did not know whether one, two, or three native regiments had mutinied, and we hoped, but vainly, that they would be immediately pursued." They were few in numbers, but right bravely they determined to remain at their posts and face the danger until succour came. That Sunday night fifteen Englishmen and Eurasians, the deputy-collector, a loyal and gallant Muhammadan gentleman—Syud Azim-oo-deen, fifty Sikhs, inclusive of native officers, a water-carrier, and a cook, entered the "chota ghur," or small house, which, owing to the foresight and skill of Vicars Boyle, had been to a certain extent fortified.[1] The main residence was one-storeyed, and far too spacious to be fortified and held by a few men. The other building was small and strongly built

[1] "Our force consisted of one jemadar and two havildars, two naiks, forty-five privates, a bhisti and cook, of Captain Rattray's Sikh police battalion; Mr Littledale, judge; Mr Combe, officiating collector; Mr Wake, magistrate; Mr Colvin, assistant; Dr Halls, civil assistant-surgeon; Mr Field, sub-deputy opium agent; Mr Anderson, his assistant; Mr Boyle, district engineer to the railway company; Syud Azim-oo-deen; H. Khan, deputy-collector; Mr Dacosta, moonsiff; Mr Godfrey, schoolmaster; Mr Cock, officiating head clerk of the collectorate; Mr Tait, secretary to Mr Boyle; Messrs Delpeiron and Hoyle, railway inspectors; and Mr De Souza."—Official Report of Mr Wake to the Commissioner of Patna, dated 3rd August.

and two - storeyed. The basement consisted of cellars with open arches some four or five feet in height. The spaces between the arches Boyle had filled up with a solid wall. Inside was a staircase which led to a large single room surrounded on three sides by a verandah. Between the pillars in the verandah Boyle had erected a curtain of brickwork with loopholes. The top of the main room was flat, and higher than the flat tops of the verandahs. It was surrounded by a parapet, but it was commanded by the roof of the main residence. Boyle therefore had the parapet of the latter razed, and he erected round the outer edge of the verandahs of his ark of refuge a sandbag wall. On Monday the 27th of July 1857, about 8 A.M., the bulk of the Dinapore mutineers marched into Arrah, and proceeding to the jail they released the prisoners, some four hundred in number. They then rushed to the collector's office, where, joined by the Nujeebs, or armed police force, they looted the Treasury and took 85,000 rupees. "This did not take long." Before an hour had passed they reached Boyle's grounds with drums beating and colours flying. "Their trumpets sounded a charge, and down they came at a double-quick, shouting like demons, and firing as fast as they could." A rush, and surely the frail defences must have given way. Just then there came from the cellars flashes of fire, as the Sikhs delivered their deadly volleys. Through the loopholes of the verandahs and from behind the sandbag parapets on the roofs the handful of

The mutineers enter Arrah, 27th July 1857.

Europeans fired with their double-barrelled guns and rifles as quick as they could load, and many fell under their unerring aim. Soon a backward movement was seen among the advancing swarm, and the sepoys, having grown more wary, hid behind the numerous trees and retired to the outhouses and the main residence, from which they kept up an incessant and galling fire on the garrison during the whole day. The mutineers had been reinforced by a number of armed adherents of Koer Singh, a great landlord of Rajput descent in the district of Shahabad. In 1856 his creditors became pressing, and he sought the aid of Government. He was treated by the Lieutenant-Governor with marked personal kindness, and a scheme was arranged for the payment of his debts. He had purposed to get a loan of twenty lakhs (2,000,000 rupees) for this object, and this sum was to be liquidated from the proceeds of his large estates through the Collector of Shahabad. A year passed, but he had not procured the loan, and the Board of Revenue sent him a message through the Commissioner of the Division that unless he obtained the entire sum within a month they would recommend Government to abandon the management of his estates. The Board of Revenue considered they had no alternative between surrendering the management of the estate or obtaining the money which he had engaged to borrow in order to place his affairs on a sound footing. But the Board could not possibly discern the heart of the situation: he could not borrow

Koer Singh.

twenty lakhs to pay his debts, for he could hardly find money enough to pay the interest of them. Though the owner of vast estates, Koer Singh was in reality when the mutiny began a ruined man—ruined by his own extıavagance. He had lavished money upon his ancestral castle at Jugdeespore, near Arrah; he had spent large sums of money in building a vast Hindu temple; he had indulged in the luxury of a lawsuit which had gone against him. Koer Singh was on his beam ends. Mr Wake, writing to Government on the 19th of July, said: "As long, therefore, as law and order exist his position cannot improve; take them away, and he well knows that he would become supreme in this district." And Koer Singh felt that a revolution might free him from the entanglements that surrounded him. He played his game with great skill. He filled his castle with provisions and munitions of war, and he was profuse in his expressions of loyalty and sympathy. Like the majority of spendthrifts, he had the social habits and amiable qualities which win friends. He is described by one who knew him as "a fine, noble-looking man." His manners were, as might be expected from a Chief of Rajput stock, "at once dignified and courteous, and bore the stamp of real nobility." He had been in his younger days "a great sportsman, and was much liked by the Europeans generally." On the 14th of June Mr Tayler wrote to Government, saying: "Many people have sent me letters imputing disloyalty and disaffection to several of the zemin-

dars, especially to Baboo Koer Singh. My personal friendship for him, and the attachment he has always shown me, enable me confidently to contradict the report." But there were officers in the districts who did not express the same belief in the loyalty of Koer Singh, and Mr Tayler sent an agent to him to intimate the suspicions entertained of his loyalty, and to bid him to repair to Patna. The agent was at the same time directed to scrutinise everything connected with and about Koer Singh, and to submit a confidential report regarding it to the Commissioner. Tayler had not learnt that dissimulation is a weak policy. Koer Singh was not likely to leave his castle and place himself in the power of the Commissioner. He received the agent lying on a bed, and pleaded age and infirmity in reply to the Commissioner's summons, but pledged himself to repair to Patna as soon as his health would permit and the Brahmins could find a propitious day for the journey. The Brahmins never found a propitious day, and the old Rajput Chief let it be known that he would resist if force were attempted. The native agent, in his confidential report, stated "it was well known that they [his people] would follow him as their feudal chieftain in the event of his raising the standard of rebellion; but beyond this nothing was ascertained."[1] As soon as he heard of the mutiny at Dinapore, Koer Singh raised the standard of revolt, and sent a large contingent to join the mutineers at Arrah.

Koer Singh raises the standard of revolt.

[1] Further Parl. Papers (No. 5), p. 38.

"The sepoys repeatedly declared they were acting under his express orders; and after a short time he was seen on the parade, and remained during the siege."[1]

Siege of Arrah.

The second day of the siege the sepoys brought two guns of small calibre which Koer Singh had dug up in his grounds to play on the "little house." One of them, a 4-pounder, they placed about one hundred and fifty yards away from it, and the other about sixty yards. "They load them with hammered-iron balls and brass door-handles and such like: fired at us all day from behind the barricades, but could not get the range with the biggest, which seemed to carry heaviest metal."[2] The guns were daily shifted so as to command what the rebels thought the weakest spots in the defence. "Finally, the largest was placed on the roof of Mr Boyle's dwelling-house, completely commanding the inside of our bungalow; and the smallest behind it, at a distance of about twenty yards."[3] The gun on the roof was loaded behind what remained of the parapet, and then run on to the top of the portico which faced the little house. Then an arm-chair, "fitted with a screen of boards," was wheeled down the portico, and the occupant loaded and fired the gun. "But they were not good shots, and were not permitted to take aim at leisure, Boyle, Field, Anderson, and others of

[1] Mr Wake's Official Report, dated 3rd August 1857.

[2] Mr Wake's Diary, written with the stump of a pencil on the wall of the house, and printed in "A Turning Point in the Indian Mutiny," by J. Giberne Sieveking, p. 43.

[3] Official Report of Mr Wake.

our best marksmen being continually on the top of our fortress, blazing away on and about the said piece of artillery." Piece and man were swiftly drawn back with ropes. The main walls were, however, tolerably proof, and the novel bombardment did little injury. "We were rather nervous at first lest they should bring the house down about our ears, but now we don't care much about them, only taking more precaution to put up more doors, well covered with thick carpets, against the windows."

The stillness of the first night was not broken, and at dawn the besieged looked out with anxious eyes for the relief they hourly expected, but hope was swiftly dissipated, for daylight revealed thousands of rebels around them. When the sun rose a lively fire was opened, and continued all day (28th July) with little effect. The first burst of excitement had now spent itself, and the monotony of a siege began. Each man rose at early dawn from his mattress on the floor after having taken his share of watching during the night. He had at once for his breakfast a cup of tea, a few biscuits, and some parched grain. A cheroot was smoked and thoroughly enjoyed, by which time the enemy's fire began for the day. At three o'clock dinner was supplied—"rice and dall[1] with a little chutney formed a filling, if not very nutritive repast. To this was added on two days a portion of mutton, and each man had a quarter of a bottle of

A lively fire begun, 28th July.

Monotony of a siege.

[1] Dall, dhall, or doll, a kind of pulse used by Europeans, and a kind of porridge flavoured with spice and eaten instead of a curry with rice.

beer, the moment of drinking which was perhaps the most luxurious of the twenty-four hours." The Sikhs cooked and ate their single meal of wheat-cakes in the cellars below, and they enjoyed a draught of water from the separate store they brought with them. As there was no European military officer, Wake, who was "a great favourite with the Sikhs," took command of them. He was "from the buoyancy of his spirits the life and soul" of the garrison, and he was their virtual leader. The judge, Mr Littledale, was, by virtue of his rank, chief, but by virtue of his office all the preparations for defence had been pushed forward earnestly by the magistrate. Littledale was the type of man whose nobility and courage are drawn out to the surprise of vulgar men at a critical situation. He had no bold and imposing personality: he was a recluse, fond of the jungle and sport, and long practice after big game had made him an unfailing shot. He did not "take the lead, or interfere with Mr Wake's measures." He supported him, and "set a good example to all the garrison; whenever hard work was to be done, whenever additional risk was to be incurred, there the judge was among the foremost."[1] Boyle worked hard, and his engineering skill was of the greatest service. Colvin "rested neither night nor day, and took on himself far more than his share of every disagreeable duty." The officiating head clerk of the collectorate, Mr Cock, "a thoroughly game bird," as his comrades called him, was "always

The gallant leaders of the garrison.

[1] "Two Months in Arrah," by J. J. Halls, p. 67.

strong, active, and cheerful, ready alike for the musket or the pick-axe, for the loophole or the well." The sub-deputy opium agent was, like the judge, a splendid shot. "Throughout the siege Mr Field's double-barrel was continually at work, and with fatal effect, both from above the breast-work and the more exposed roof of the building." The men in that small house belonged to different races, but they had two things in common—dauntless valour and stubborn patience. There was Mr Delpeiroux, the railway inspector, "who worked, fought, and talked with the buoyant vivacity peculiar to his French extraction." The native officer of the Sikhs, Hooken Singh, a fine bearded fellow, six feet two inches high, was everywhere active: "'*Koochpurwa nahin!*' (No harm done, no matter!) was his laughing, sarcastic ejaculation after every unsuccessful cannon-shot; and on one occasion he carried his contempt of the enemy so far as to pitch brick-bats at them from the top of the house. He was slightly wounded in the hand."[1] It was the loyalty and bearing of Hooken Singh and his men which sustained the determination of the other sixteen to hold out to the last. The sepoys in the outhouses appealed to their religious and national sympathy, and bitterly reproached them for fidelity. They then tried to seduce them by offering them 500 rupees per man to give up the Europeans. "The Sikhs replied by sarcastic remarks and musket bullets." Their loyalty bore every strain, their courage never failed them, and

Hooken Singh.

Loyalty and courage of the Sikhs.

[1] "Two Months in Arrah," by J. J. Halls, p. 67.

their unceasing labour met and prevented every threatened disaster. Water began to run short; a Sikh stole out, and when it was dark brought in two spades, and he and his comrades, aided by the Europeans when they could be spared from their posts, set to work to dig a well in the vaults. As they dug they heard about midnight regular volleys of musketry and a continuous dropping fire about two miles off. The relief had arrived. But the sound of firing did not seem to approach. "It soon ceased altogether." About 5 A.M. one of the Sikhs of the police force came in and told them that only three hundred Europeans and ninety Sikhs had been sent to their relief. "God aid them! Our well under the lower storey is nearly finished. The relief has evidently had to retire, but we hear from the Sikhs that artillery is coming." The well, which had been dug in twelve hours, was eighteen feet deep, and contained an ample supply of water, "and all of us, Sikhs and Europeans, had a regular wash, an inadmissible luxury before." The Europeans now began to feel the want of animal food. "A sally was made at night, and four sheep brought in."

A well dug in the vaults.

Approach of the relief heard.

The relief has to retire.

On the 31st of July the rebels, who had gone out in force to attack Dunbar's small party, returned and triumphantly informed the garrison that they had annihilated them, and now there was no chance of their being relieved. They offered the Sikhs and the women and children their lives and liberty if they would surrender

News brought of Dunbar's disaster, 31st July.

the Government officers. Happily there were no women and children in the little house. Neither taunts nor promises affected the loyalty and spirit of the Sikhs. When the rebels discovered that the garrison held out as resolutely as ever, they renewed the siege with increased vigour. They brought "the largest of the guns" to the garden wall, which at that time ran within twenty yards of the rear of the house, and knocking a hole through it opened fire on the lower storey. But the balls, "round and cast-iron," made but little impression on Boyle's stout barrier, which had been strengthened by the earth dug up from the well. "The balls are about four pounds; how they do so little damage we cannot imagine."[1] A sound of digging was heard near some of the outhouses, which came up almost to their walls. Men were seen coming and going. But there came no musketry fire from the buildings. The besieged soon realised that a great danger threatened them. The sepoys were sinking a mine. They began a counter-mine under the foundation of the house. The enemy's mine kept rapidly advancing. On Saturday, August 1st, "The shafts of the counter-mine had been sunk to the depth of about seven feet, and the gallery carried off towards the south and there stopped, under the outer face of the wall." The enemy plied the garrison all day with musketry, but the guns did not open fire till the evening. The besieged were informed at the same time that all their lives would be spared if they

The rebels renew the siege with increased vigour.

The sepoys sink a mine.

[1] Wake's Diary.

would give up their arms, and they would be sent to Calcutta. The idea of surrender never crossed their minds. They were all true of heart. "Firing from the big gun [which they had placed on the roof of the big house] kept up all night." The rebels also startled the besieged in the dead of night by a horrible shout, "*Maro! Maro!*" (Kill! Kill!), but they had not the courage to press home the attack.

No surrender.

When the morning brought light few rebels were to be seen. "Guns fired three times between daybreak and 11 A.M." All day there was but "little musketry," and the garrison worked hard at the counter-mine—"gallery progressing." The comparative quietness maintained by the enemy did not diminish their anxiety and suspense, but increased it. Did it portend that they were now ready to blow up the little house at any moment? No news of any relieving force had reached the besieged. A dreary day passed. When night came on and the darkness was intense, a voice called out from behind the trees that there was "some news." The rifles covered the spot, but swiftly came the words, "Do not shoot." They asked the speaker to approach. Two men stealthily advanced, "came under the walls, and informed us that the sepoys had been defeated about six miles off, towards Buxar, by Major Vincent Eyre (the Cabul man), and that, doubtless, our deliverers would arrive in the morning." The glad tidings brought fresh hope into the hearts of the small band. But was the news true? It seemed

The garrison work hard at the counter-mine.

Glad tidings.

to be confirmed by one of the men allowing himself to be drawr up within the walls, and the absence of the enemy. At midnight a sally was made by some of the garrison, who found the enemy had vanished. They brought in the gun which had been left on the top of the house and a large quantity of ammunition. "They discovered that the enemy's mine extended to their walls, and that the powder and fusee were prepared, so that had the relieving force been delayed a few hours the house probably would have been blown about our ears, for though our mine was immediately beneath that of the besiegers, yet it was very possible we might not have heard their proceeding in time to anticipate the explosion." The mine was at once destroyed. The sortie had done its work. The rest kept their watch on the roof, and strained their ears to catch the low booming sound which would intimate the approach of coming aid. The morning twilight broke, and they saw neither friend nor foe. But the black minute was nigh at end. "About seven o'clock two of the volunteers who were with Major Eyre rode in, waving their hats. Their advent opened our mouths, and we gave three hearty cheers." The last entry in the Diary on the wall states—"Sunday, August 2, Major Eyre defeated the rebels; and on the 3rd we came out. *Vivat Regina!*" So ended the siege of the little house at Arrah—a noble exploit, shining on the by-path of the history of the Indian Mutiny.

A sally made by some of the garrison.

End of the siege of Arrah, 3rd August.

Vincent Eyre.

Vincent Eyre, "the Cabul man," was a daring soldier of intellectual vigour and versatility. Twenty-eight years before the relief of Arrah he

Appointed to the Bengal Artillery.

came out to India, having received his commission as second lieutenant in the Bengal Artillery. He was a first lieutenant in the far-famed Bengal Artillery when he was appointed Deputy Commissary of Ordnance at Cabul. Shah Suja, escorted by British troops, had made his way through the narrow streets of the capital of Afghanistan to the palace of his ancestors in the Bala Hissar. As the country seemed fairly tranquil, "The Army of the Indus" was broken up and the Cabul Field Force formed. A small siege-train, which could be easily moved, was needed to smash the stronghold of some Afghan outlaw. Eyre set forth from Ferozepore, then a frontier military station, with a train of 9-pounder guns, mortars, ammunition, and miscellaneous military stores. The convoy was escorted by a regiment of native infantry and detachment of Her Majesty's 13th Foot, and, marching through the Punjab, reached Cabul on the 28th of April

First Afghan War, 1838.

1840. Eyre was busy organising a great arsenal which had been erected near the cantonment, when Alexander Burnes and his brother were basely massacred (2nd Nov. 1841), and by sunset a riot at Cabul had become a revolution. During the siege of the cantonment his powerful energies were given to fighting the batteries, and well he sustained an

Wounded at the storming of Beymaroo.

unequal strife. In the attempt to storm the village of Beymaroo, which overlooked the doomed cantonment, he was wounded, whilst working the single

horse-artillery gun, in the hand. After the treacherous murder of the British Envoy, the Afghans sent in a draft treaty demanding for its fulfilment four married officers as hostages, with their wives and children. Lady Sale enters in her Diary: "Lieutenant Eyre said, if it was to be productive of great good he would stay with his wife and child. The others all refused to risk the safety of their families. One said he would rather put a pistol to his wife's head and shoot her, and another that his wife should only be taken at the point of the bayonet; for himself, he was ready to perform any duty imposed on him." The Afghan chiefs were informed that it was contrary to the usages of war to give up women as hostages. On the first day of the new year (1842) the treaty was sent into the cantonment duly signed. At nine o'clock on the morning of the 6th of January the advance of the Cabul force, which amounted to about 4500 fighting men, with 12,000 followers, moved a body of women and children out of the cantonments on their way back to India. At the first halt they saw the glare from the burning cantonments as they sat in the snow. Many perished before dawn.[1] The next day Eyre, his wife, and his little boy strapped to the back of a faithful Afghan servant, on horseback, passed in safety through that gloomy defile, where 1500 soldiers and over 2500 followers perished. On the 9th of January the married officers, the wives and widows and children, were consigned to the care of

His noble offer.

The Cabul massacre, 6th January 1842.

[1] "Life of Field-Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.," by G. W. Forrest, C.I.E., p. 96.

Akbar Khan, a son of Dost Mahomed, who had murdered with his own hand our envoy and planned the massacre of the British force. The romantic story of their nine months' captivity, and the hardships they endured, is told in the "Rough Notes" which Eyre recorded on such scraps of paper as he could collect. They were published as a journal in "The Military Operations at Cabul," a work which can always be read with interest. The story has often been told how Sir George Pollock traversed the Khyber Pass in the face of an enemy and relieved the garrison of Jellalabad after their heroic defence. In the course of the year the British flag was planted on the citadel at Cabul, the captives rescued just in time to save them from being carried off to the Usbeck Tartars, the bazaar of the guilty city burned, and the avenging army marched back to Ferozepore to be received with due honour by their brethren in arms.[1]

Nine months' captivity.

On his return to India Vincent Eyre was posted to the new troop of horse artillery raised to replace the old 1st Troop 1st Brigade, which had perished in the passes of Afghanistan.[2] Two years later he was appointed Commandant of Artillery in the Gwalior Contingent, and the efficiency of his training was shown in many a stiff contest in the sepoy war. In 1854 he became a major, and in the following year he went on sick leave, twenty-five years of continuous and strenuous service having

Appointed Commandant of Artillery in the Gwalior Contingent.

[1] "Life of Field-Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.," by G. W. Forrest.

[2] "Calcutta Review," vol. xliv.

impaired his health. In February 1857 he again landed at Calcutta. Scindia was at the time on a visit to the Governor-General. The young Chief questioned the former commandant of his artillery as to the feeling in England with regard to the annexation of Oudh. Eyre replied that public opinion was divided on the subject, but that many men of affairs thought it would disturb the minds of the native chiefs. The Maharajah remarked, "Ah, that is the truth, they reason rightly." Eyre, after a brief stay, left Calcutta for British Burma, having been appointed to the command of a horse field battery at Thyat Myo, three hundred miles up the river Irrawady. He was busy in the drill of his battery, and teaching his men the theory and practice of gunnery, when he received a telegraphic communication ordering him to proceed at once with his battery to Calcutta. The time had come for him to again handle his guns in battle.

Appointed to the command of a horse field battery in Burmah.

On the night of the 14th of June, Eyre, with his sixty European gunners and his light field battery, anchored off Calcutta. The horses were left behind to follow when opportunity offered. On the 10th of July No. 3 Horse Field Battery with the 1st Company 5th Battalion Artillery, under command of Major V. Eyre, embarked on a river-flat in tow of the steamer *Lady Thackwell*, whose captain had orders to proceed with all haste to Allahabad. On the evening of the 25th of July they saw from the deck of the steamer flames arising above the west cantonments of Dinapore. Eyre, on learning that the native regiments had mutinied, at once offered

Eyre and his battery anchored off Calcutta, 14th June 1857.

Embarks for Allahabad.

Offers his services to General Lloyd.

his services to General Lloyd, by whose orders he landed three guns, pending the absence of the battery which had been sent in pursuit of the mutineers. The next morning they were re-embarked, and the steamer, after passing the mouth of the river Caramnassa, arrived at Buxar on the 28th of July. There were no native regiments or European troops to guard the fort and old military station, but near it the Company had established one of their breeding studs for horses. The Superintendent, Captain Hastings, "as fine a fellow as ever breathed," informed Eyre that the mutineers had crossed the Soane and were besieging the house at Arrah. Reports also reached them that a body of the mutineers had advanced within twenty miles of Buxar, with the intention of destroying the valuable stud establishment. Eyre considered himself justified in detaining the steamer till the next morning, when, finding there was no immediate ground for alarm, he determined to continue his voyage to Ghazeepore, an important town thirty miles above Buxar, on the eastern shore of the Ganges. Ghazeepore was the chief seat of the manufacture of otto of roses and of the opium from the poppy grown in the Upper Provinces. The opium, stored in its vast factory, was valued at more than a million sterling. The Government of India were anxious for its safety, as it was guarded by a strong native regiment and one weak company of the 78th Highlanders. Eyre was authorised to exercise his discretion as to the expediency of leaving a

Arrives at Buxar, 28th July.

portion of his battery at Ghazeepore to assist in aiding the native regiment. He had now to decide between the fate of a single house and a handful of men, and the fate of an important district, of which Ghazeepore was the headquarters. He determined to proceed with all speed to Ghazeepore. "His avowed intention was, however, should all be found quiet at Ghazeepore, to return to Buxar, and to advance to the relief of Arrah with the aid of such infantry as he might be able to pick up from the detachments then proceeding up the river."[1]

Determines to proceed to Ghazeepore.

On the afternoon of the 29th of July Eyre reached Ghazeepore, and after a consultation with the officer commanding the station he landed two guns, and in return took on board twenty-five of the Highlanders to aid in the relief of Arrah. At 9 P.M. the steamer again anchored off Buxar. He found anchored there another steamer which had just arrived. It was the *James Hume*, with a detachment of 160 men of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers, under Captain F. W. L'Estrange. "Major Eyre lost no time in requesting that officer's co-operation in the projected enterprise. This was unhesitatingly given, and at an early hour on the following morning, the 30th of July, three guns were landed and 150 men of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers; and a field force was organised." Besides the 150 men of the 5th Fusiliers, the field force consisted of forty artillerymen, fourteen mounted volunteers, and

Returns to Buxar with twenty-five Highlanders.

[1] "Account of the Relief of Arrah," dictated by Major Vincent Eyre, Bengal Artillery.

twelve officers.[1] A small band for so hazardous an enterprise. But they were all men in heart. Mr Bax, the assistant magistrate of Ghazeepore, who accompanied the force as civil officer, wrote to his wife: "Buxar, July 30/57. Our force musters 150 of the 5th, 40 artillerymen, and three guns, three 9-pounders and a howitzer, besides some 20 volunteer cavalry; so we are well backed up and confident of success." Eyre was so confident of success that he thought it his duty to send back the twenty-five Highlanders to Ghazeepore.

Major Eyre with a small force starts to the relief of Arrah, 30th July.

A little after 5 P.M. (30th July) the miniature field force set forth, but day had broken before it reached its encampment, fifteen miles from Buxar. The bullocks being fresh from the plough found great difficulty in dragging the guns. At 4 P.M. the force resumed its march, "and favoured by moonlight reached the village of Shahpoor by the morning of the 1st of August." Here letters were received informing them of the disaster which had overtaken Dunbar. But it did not diminish their courage nor their confidence. Arrah had to be relieved. Twenty-eight more miles had to be traversed. Two hours after noon the bullocks were again set in motion, and they had gone but four miles when some villagers were discovered in the very act of cutting the roadway of a bridge over a nullah. In an hour the roadway was repaired, and the force proceeded

Hears of Dunbar's disaster.

[1] The officers were—*Artillery:* Major Eyre; Assistant Surgeon Eteson. *5th Fusiliers:* Captain L'Estrange. *78th Highlanders:* Ensigns Lewis, Oldfield, Mason; Assistant Surgeon Thornton. *Volunteers:* Captain the Hon. G. P. Hastings; Lieutenant Jackson; Veterinary Surgeon Liddell.

without interruption to the village of Gujrajegunge. "Here it bivouacked for the night; and a party of fifty of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers were sent forward to guard a bridge leading to the village."[1] Early in the morning of Sunday, the 2nd of August, it began its third march, and had advanced about half a mile beyond the village when there came from a thick wood about half a mile ahead of them the familiar note of the "assembly." Through it lay the direct road to Arrah, and it extended on either flank of them. The sepoys had laid the same trap for Eyre that they had laid for Dunbar, but his halt during the night had baffled them. Eyre at once halted to reconnoitre. The enemy now began to show themselves in force, and their design soon became apparent. They intended to surround the little band. Eyre, however, rose to the situation. He drew up his men on the open plain to the right of the road and offered battle. "The three guns opened fire to the front and flanks, causing the enemy to screen themselves as much as possible behind the broken ground, between the two positions. From this they opened a heavy fire of musketry, and Major Eyre ordered forward skirmishing parties of the 5th Fusiliers to retaliate. The superiority of the Enfield rifles now became apparent. Galled by their accurate fire, the enemy gradually fell back to the shelter of the woods. Meanwhile Major Eyre directed the full fire of his artillery on the enemy's centre, with a view of forcing a passage through the

The sepoys lay a trap for him.

They are driven from the wood.

[1] "Account of the Relief of Arrah," dictated by Major Vincent Eyre, Bengal Artillery.

wood. They scattered themselves right and left, leaving the road clear. And, under cover of the Enfield rifles, the guns and baggage were promptly moved forward, and pushed through the wood before the enemy could again close his divided wings."

On passing through the wood, Eyre pushed on along the road as rapidly as the wearied bullocks could move. Arriving near the village of Beebee-gunje he found the rebels had destroyed a bridge by which alone he could cross a deep and rapid stream, and the approach to it was protected by breastworks and houses. Eyre halted the column to refresh the men and cattle, and he sent out scouts to discover a ford. No ford was found. It was impossible to effect a passage over the bridge. Eyre at once determined to make a flank march to the nearest point of the railway, distant only one mile, along which there was a direct road to Arrah.[1] To mask his movement he poured a heavy fire on the village, while the baggage and infantry struck across the rice-fields for the railway embankment. But the heavy mud made marching difficult. The enemy soon penetrated the design of the British commander. A large body of them pressed forward to intercept the small force at the angle of a thick wood which abutted on the embankment. The three mutineer regiments pursued a parallel course on the other side of the river. A great number of Koer Singh's irregular cavalry and infantry hurried after the force to harass their rear. As Eyre approached the

The action at Beebee-gunje.

[1] "Account of the Relief of Arrah," dictated by Major Vincent Eyre, Bengal Artillery.

wood there came from it the sharp rattle of musketry. The road to Arrah was barred with superior numbers sheltered by trees. Rapidly forming his few infantry into skirmishing order, and placing his guns in position, Eyre returned the enemy's fire. The unequal contest had lasted for an hour. Twice had the enemy, seeing the guns were unprotected, advanced, and twice were they driven back by showers of grape. Then Hastings rode up to Eyre, and said to him, "The Fusiliers are losing ground." "Go and tell L'Estrange to charge," came the reply. "Promptly and gallantly he obeyed the order; the skirmishers on the right turned their flank; the guns with grape and shrapnel drove in the centre; and the troops advancing on all sides drove the enemy panic-stricken in all directions."[1] The road cleared, the wood was passed, the open country gained, and they marched without further molestation to within four miles of Arrah, when they were suddenly stopped by a narrow but rapid stream over which they could not cross the guns. It was now dusk. They halted, and "the night was passed in constructing a rude contrivance by which they

An unequal contest.

Eyre orders a bayonet charge.

[1] Major Vincent Eyre to the Assistant Adjutant-General at Dinapore, Camp near Arrah, August 3rd, 1857.

On August 27th Herwald Wake wrote: "The greater part of the rebel army met them eight miles from Arrah, flushed with their last victory, and thinking they could eat such a little handful. However they were mistaken, for they got a thundering licking, chiefly owing to Hastings' heroic conduct in heading a charge at a critical moment when the guns were nearly surrounded. All through this affair Hastings showed himself a trump, and never had anything but a stick in his hand, both in this engagement and in the second at Jugdeespore."—Printed in "A Turning Point in the Indian Mutiny," by J. Giberne Sieveking.

10th Foot and 100 of Rattray's Sikhs, under Captain C. D. Patterson, set forth on his march to Jugdeespore. With him went Herwald Wake at the head of his 50 gallant Arrah Sikhs. Eight of the garrison enrolled themselves as troopers in Jackson's Volunteer Horse.[1] "Every one but us looked on the expedition as a forlorn one," wrote Wake, "and the letters one got were like farewells." After passing over their old battlefield, "where the marks of the bullets on the trees sufficiently evidenced the fierceness of the conflict," they reached an open plain and bivouacked for the night. When daybreak began Eyre's men resumed the march, and about 9 o'clock there was a halt, "just for a cheroot and a tot of grog all round." An hour later, parties of the enemy's horse and foot were seen occupying a village behind which flowed a small stream, which was fordable. Eyre pushed forward skirmishing parties in the direction of the village. "This elicited a sharp fire, which was maintained on both sides with great spirit," until the rebels were dislodged from the hamlet. Three hundred yards away from it was the edge of a jungle, but no sign of an enemy. Then some heads were seen moving among the bushes. The British main body had now approached, and Eyre, advancing his two guns, gave them "one dose of grape." Suddenly black masses sprang from the ground. The men of the 10th, mad with fury at the cruelty and brutality inflicted on their comrades

Eyre starts against Jugdeespore, 11th August.

[1] The force consisted in round numbers of: Artillery, three light field-guns, 36 men; Her Majesty's 5th, 140 men; Her Majesty's 10th, 190 men; Rattray's Sikhs, 140 men; Yeomanry, 16 men; total, 522.

in Dunbar's disaster,[1] were chafing at being held back. Eyre despatched Hastings with an order to charge. "With loud and continued shouts they advanced and charged, led on in the most noble manner by Captain Patterson, impetuously driving all before them."

Capture of Koer Singh's citadel, 12th August.

Meanwhile Koer Singh's levies had taken up a threatening position on Eyre's right flank, and were gradually closing in upon it under cover of the jungles and broken ground. "But they were held in check by the admirable fire of Captain L'Estrange's skirmishers, aided by Mr Wade's Sikhs and Lieutenant Jackson's Volunteer Yeomanry. They were finally driven back by the destructive fire of the howitzer, under the excellent management of Staff-Sergeant Melville of the Artillery." On the opposite bank of the river there lay the large village of Dullour, well suited for defensive purposes, which Koer Singh had caused to be entrenched. Driven back by the British skirmishers, Patterson's gallant charge, and the destructive fire of the howitzer, the rebels retreated across the stream to the shelter of the earthworks. "There they endeavoured to make a stand; but were driven out by the joint efforts of the gallant 10th and 5th Fusiliers—the latter

[1] Mr Bax writes in his Diary, 4th July: "Rode out in the afternoon beyond Arrah—quarter mile—the scene of the engagement and ambuscade of the sepoys. It was a melancholy sight. Numerous accoutrements of European soldiers were lying about. Bodies half buried or eaten up. Ropes pending from trees showing how many had been hung."—"A Turning Point in the Indian Mutiny," by J. Giberne Sieveking, p. 146.

under Captains L'Estrange and Scott." Behind the village stretched a thick jungle for a mile and a half, and through it the mutineers were pursued, and a running fight maintained until "at 1 P.M. we took possession of Koer Singh's noted stronghold." The 10th "fought like demons," and "our men served the sepoys after their fashion towards our men at Arrah, for they hung up the wounded and the bodies of the killed upon trees along the road a mile and a half." Fifty of the sepoys took refuge in the palace of Koer Singh, "the whole of whom were shot down by the 10th men, who hung the bodies of the sepoys with their own blue shirts over the walls and left them to wither in the sun." It was taking vengeance of their enemies that had hanged their wounded comrades. Such actions cannot be recorded without abhorrence and regret. These things are, however, written as a lesson. Let those who excite the masses to a fanatical war remember that then the horrible fierceness of beasts comes over men.

Koer Singh, accompanied by a few followers, fled to a residence he had in a neighbouring jungle. On the morning of the 14th L'Estrange was sent with a small force to beat up his quarters. "The party has just returned," wrote Eyre, "with the information that the place is empty, though Koer Singh had recently been there." He added, "I am destroying the town and preparing to blow up the palace and principal buildings around it. To-day I partially destroyed a new Hindu temple on which Koer Singh had recently lavished large sums. I

did this because it is known that the Brahmins have instigated him to rebellion." About midday on the 15th of August the mines were exploded and the palace and principal buildings were a mass of ruins. On forwarding Major Eyre's letters to the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief expressed his high approval "of the judgment evinced by Major Eyre throughout these movements, and of the gallantry and perseverance of the officers and men under his command in bringing them to a triumphant conclusion: . . . but regrets to have to disapprove of the destruction of the Hindu temple at Jugdeespore by Major Eyre, under a mistaken view of the duties of a commander at the present crisis."[1]

Eyre ordered to return to Arrah.

On the 16th of August Eyre marched in pursuit of the mutineers, but on his way he received instructions from Sir James Outram to return to Arrah, "as every available European soldier would be required for the relief of Lucknow." Three days later he reached Arrah, and after sending back the detachment of the 10th Foot to Dinapore he proceeded with the remainder of his force to Buxar. On the evening of the 24th of August Outram's steamer anchored off the old fort, and the next day he took with him Eyre's battery and the detachment of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers. This terminated the expedition to Arrah—"a glorious little campaign."

[1] The Deputy Adjutant-General to the Secretary to the Government of India, Headquarters, Calcutta, August 21.

CHAPTER XV.

THOUGH his troops had been defeated and his citadel dismantled, the power of Koer Singh had not been destroyed. The old Rajput Chief was still regarded by the sepoys as one of their hereditary leaders, and to follow his fortunes was a main incitement to revolt. In Western Behar and the adjacent country his influence remained undiminished. After the destruction of his castle he marched, accompanied by a small force consisting of sepoys and feudal retainers, towards Rewah, a small native State which lay between him and Bundelcund. Making his way through it he hoped to reach Upper India, or even Delhi, and render assistance to the besieged. The young Rajah of Rewah was related to him, and Koer Singh did not expect any serious opposition. The political agent of Rewah at this crisis was Lieutenant Willoughby Osborne of the Madras army, a man of considerable ability and courage, and owing to his influence and that of Lieutenant-Colonel Hinde, who commanded the Rewah Contingent, the Rajah refused to allow the rebel force to traverse his country, and assumed so resolute an attitude that Koer Singh abandoned the attempt. For many months the question arose in a wide extent of territory, "Where is Koer Singh?" Every week

The Western Behar Campaign.

Koer Singh marches towards Rewah.

there came tidings of his appearance at some unexpected spot, and of districts desolated and towns plundered by him. Then came the startling intelligence that he had crossed the Ganges, marched into Oudh, and seized (on the 17th of March 1858) a village called Atraulia, twenty miles from Azimgarh. In September a force, chiefly consisting of a Gurkha regiment, had surprised and defeated a large body of mutineers at a village near the same town.[1] The swift and energetic actions of the forces under Jung Bahadur and General Franks had relieved the territory between Gorruckpore and Benares of the pressure of the rebels. But when they marched away to take part in the siege and capture of Lucknow, Koer Singh, seeing that the country east of Oudh had been denuded of troops, struck his blow. Many of the fugitives from Lucknow and a large number of the rebels whom Jung Bahadur and Franks had defeated joined him. Colonel Milman of Her Majesty's 37th, who at the time commanded the station of Azimgarh, had under him a small force of 206 men of his own regiment, 60 men of the 4th Madras Cavalry, and two light guns. On the 21st of March he was encamped at Koelsar, not far from Azimgarh, when he heard from the magistrate that Koer Singh had occupied Atraulia. He at once broke up his camp, marched all night, and at three o'clock in the morning he surprised a party of rebels posted in three or four mango groves, and quickly drove them out. His men had piled their

Crosses the Ganges and enters Oudh.

Colonel Milman advances against Koer Singh.

[1] See above, vol. ii. p. 257.

arms and were resting while their breakfasts were being cooked, when the news came that the main body of the enemy were advancing upon them. Riding forward with a few troopers Colonel Milman saw the enemy, some posted behind a mud wall, some hardly visible in fields of tall sugar-cane, some lurking in the mango topes. His men followed him. But he swiftly realised that they must be outflanked. He fell back, losing ground indeed little by little as the enemy steadily advanced, but maintaining a bold front and suffering no great loss. Worn out by the night and day march, the troops reached the old camping ground at Koelsar. But there was no food, the majority of camp-followers had fled, taking with them their bullocks, and Milman, leaving behind him his baggage, retired to the entrenchment which had been thrown up around the jail near the town. Urgent messages were sent to Benares, Allahabad, and Lucknow asking for reinforcements.

Has to fall back.

On the 26th of March the rebels, some 5000 in number, with four guns, took possession of the town. By that time 46 men of the Madras Rifles and 280 men of Her Majesty's 37th from Ghazeepore and its neighbourhood had arrived within the entrenchment, and Colonel Dames of the 37th, as senior officer, assumed command. On the 27th of March, taking with him 200 men of his regiment, two guns, and 60 Madras cavalry, he made a sortie. The enemy were quickly driven from the open country, but following up his success Dames rashly assailed the town and was repulsed with the loss of

The rebels occupy Azimgarh.

Repulse of Colonel Dames, 27th March.

Captain Bedford of the 37th and eleven men killed and wounded. He then retired to the entrenchment, covered by his guns and cavalry, and there anxiously awaited the arrival of reinforcements, for a very small quantity of provisions remained.

Lord Canning realises the danger of the situation.

On the 27th of March the news of the reverse at Azimgarh reached Lord Canning at Allahabad. The Governor-General at once realised the danger of the situation. If Milman was overwhelmed, the effect on Bengal would be most serious, and Koer Singh might make a dash towards Benares and destroy the line of communication between Lucknow and Calcutta. Lord Canning therefore ordered Lord Mark Kerr, who commanded the right wing of the 13th Light Infantry, then at Allahabad, to march at once to the relief of Azimgarh. No more daring and skilful captain could have been chosen for the work. On the evening of the very same day that he received his orders he left Allahabad with the wing of his regiment, 372 men and 19 officers, and reached Benares on the last day of March. He was there joined by 2nd Dragoon Guards (Bays), 2 officers and 55 men, and Royal Artillery (two 6-pr. guns, two 5½-inch mortars), 1 officer and 17 men. At 10 P.M. on the 2nd of April he left Benares and, proceeding by forced marches, he arrived at 10 P.M. on the 5th at a village ten miles from Azimgarh. "I received pressing letters at different hours till midnight from the Staff Officer at Azimgarh to come on without delay, but thinking it imprudent to risk anything by a night march, I did not start till 4 A.M. on the 6th." The moon

Lord Mark Kerr ordered to march to the relief of Azimgarh.

was shining brightly at that hour, and Lord Mark Kerr, who was a splendid horseman, rode with a reconnoitring party of the Bays. "At 6 A.M. I observed a mango tope and buildings to the left of the road, and also the banked ditches of the fields to the right of it, to be crowded with Sepoys."[1] He returned to the column. He was taking to Azimgarh a large amount of stores and ammunition, and after waiting two and a half hours to allow his long train of elephants, camels, and carts to close up, he advanced Captain Boyd's company in skirmishing order to the right of the road, hoping to turn by their force the enemy's left flank, and so clear the ground for an advance of the convoy. A heavy fire at the closest range now blazed out from the mango tope and the buildings. Behind the British left flank the rebels, sheltered by enclosures, delivered their fire. The same on the right, where the skirmishers had driven in the enemy's left, Lieutenant Hall, 13th, with a subdivision was sent in support of them. Three companies of the 13th were thrown out in skirmishing order with their left thrown back to the left of the road. "Taking advantage of any cover at hand," two guns at a range of five hundred yards flung shrapnel into the enclosures to the right. For some time the guns played on them. But they made no impression on the buildings and tope, whose branches swarmed with the enemy's marksmen. The long convoy had gone back, every

Attacks Koer Singh, 6th August.

[1] From Colonel Lord Mark Kerr, Commanding Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Azimgarh, 6th April 1858.

bullock and elephant driver having fled. Lieutenant Stewart, 13th, "an excellent officer and horseman," had been sent back with twenty-five of the Bays to reinforce the rear-guards. Now were seen behind the enemy's skirmishers on the flanks their reserves in quarter-distance columns. Between Lord Mark's small force and the rear-guards and baggage there appeared also large bodies of the enemy. Things began to look very serious. "It was necessary to advance, however; the slightest change of position to the rear caused the enemy to rise up, and with loud shouts show their numbers all around." [1] Shelling the buildings by the two mortars might cause them to be abandoned. But to do this the gunners and their supports would have to be retired to prevent them from being struck by the shells. The idea was at once abandoned. One of the 6-pounder guns, at sixty yards' range, continued to pound away at the main building, and at last a small breach appeared. A party of volunteers attempted an assault, and the soldiers "were manfully enlarging" the breach, "when an inner wall appeared and I tried the gun again." The buildings had been fired; but the sepoys held them with desperation. Then, just as Lord Mark had determined on another assault, the enemy abandoned them to the flames. "A pile of dead bodies inside covered the ground to the height of three feet. Lieutenant Ormsby, commanding the Bays, came to the front in pursuit; our whole line

[1] From Colonel Lord Mark Kerr, Commanding Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Azimgarh, 6th April 1858.

advanced; the skirmishers thrown back on the left wheeled rapidly up, and the fight was won."[1] A bit of stiff work, however, remained to be done. They had forced the enemy's centre, but immediately in their rear was a high embankment crossing the road, which the rebels had seized on in great numbers. Captain Wilson Jones of the 13th, "a most gallant young man, commanding the company of the rear-guard," made a prompt and vigorous attack, and was killed while leading his men in these successful assaults. The enemy fled in all directions. Lord Mark Kerr pushed forward, and at the same time the rear, under the command of Major Tyler, 13th, an officer of "cool judgment," advanced, "the drivers, on our success, having returned." After a march of two miles the long convoy reached the entrenchment of Azimgarh. A force consisting of 19 officers and 444 men had forced their way against an enemy not numbering "less than 4000, the 7th, 8th, and 40th so-called fighting regiments of the sepoy army among them." Eight officers and men lay dead on the field, and thirty-four "mostly severely or dangerously wounded" were carried into the entrenchment. All honour is due to the brave men and their able and daring commander.[2]

Lord Mark Kerr relieves Azimgarh.

[1] From Colonel Lord Mark Kerr, Commanding Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Azimgarh, 6th April 1858.

[2] "I am truly thankful to say that all the officers under my command behaved with daring courage and resolution. Non-commissioned officers and private soldiers the same. I owe my best thanks to Lieutenant Honourable James Dormer, Staff Officer of my force, and to Ensign Yardley, my orderly officer, who both behaved with great coolness under heavy fire. To Lieutenant-Colonel Longden and Mr

Operations of Sir Edward Lugard's force.

On reaching Azimgarh, Lord Mark Kerr found that Colonel Dames, who commanded the garrison, had received express orders to remain on the defensive until he should hear of the approach of Sir Edward Lugard's force, which had left Lucknow on the 29th of March. The distance to Azimgarh was fifteen marches by the direct route. But on reaching Sultanpore on the 5th of April, Lugard found the bridge across the Goomtee had been destroyed, and there were no boats. He was therefore compelled to take the more circuitous route by the right bank to Jaunpore.[1] After six days' long marches in the hot sun he reached the village of Tigna, a few miles north-west of Jaunpore, and discovered that a rebel force threatened that city, garrisoned by a small body of Gurkhas. After a march of sixteen miles Lugard halted his men to rest during the heat of the day, sending out scouts to reconnoitre the enemy's position. Towards evening he heard that they were on the move, and taking with him 300 sabres and three horse-artillery guns he rode after them, requesting Brigadier Douglas to bring up some of the infantry in support. Four miles from his camp he found the enemy, some 3000 in number, in full retreat. He at once sent the

Lugard defeats the enemy near Jaunpore.

Venables, who accompanied me throughout the day, I am most deeply indebted for their cordial and constant advice and assistance. Major Tyler speaks of invaluable assistance from Quartermaster Hoban, 13th, in many difficulties and dangers with the convoy."—From Colonel Lord Mark Kerr, Commanding Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff dated Azimgarh, 6th April 1858.

[1] See above, vol. ii. p. 256.

3rd Irregular Cavalry under Captain Pearse, and a party of the 12th Irregulars under Lieutenant C. Havelock, supported by a squadron of the Military Train under Major Robertson, at full speed after them. They caught them, charged them, and dispersed them, capturing two guns. "Lieutenant Havelock was shot through the head when gallantly leading his men, and he expired before we returned to camp. He was an intelligent, brave, and gallant soldier, well worthy of the name he bore." His father, Will Havelock, "happy as a lover," sitting as firmly in the saddle as when he overleaped the abattis on the Bidassoa, fell at the head of the 14th Dragoons in that glorious gallop on the green banks of the Chenab.

Death of Lieutenant Havelock.

At daybreak of the 15th Lugard advanced with his whole force on Azimgarh. A squadron of cavalry, three guns, and four companies of the 10th Foot, which had been sent the evening before to reconnoitre a bridge of boats which the enemy had thrown across the Tonse to the west of the city, moved forward, and after a sharp skirmish they carried it, and drove the rebels from the Factory house on the left bank. "The position was a very strong one, and was held with much determination by a party of about 300 rebels of the late 7th, 8th, and 40th Regiments Native Infantry, as shown by the uniform upon the bodies of those slain on the field."[1] Meanwhile

Lugard advances on Jaunpore, 15th April 1858.

[1] From Brigadier-General Sir E. Lugard, K.C.B., Commanding Azimgarh Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Camp, Azimgarh, 16th April 1858.

the main column, under Brigadier Douglas, had advanced over the "Jaunpore Bridge" direct upon the city. They found that all the rebels had fled on losing their bridge of boats. Lugard at once directed the horse artillery and cavalry under Major Michel, Royal Artillery, to pursue "and use their utmost endeavours to capture Koer Singh." But Koer Singh, though not trained in the profession of arms, was a born strategist, and could not be easily caught. His retreat was covered by the sepoys of the Dinapore brigade, who fought with "regularity and devoted courage." One who was present writes: "Immediately our cavalry charged they stood and formed square, and used to abuse and tell us to come on." Their guns and nearly all their ammunition and baggage fell into the pursuers' hands, but at a sensible cost. Lieutenant Hamilton, Adjutant 3rd Sikh Cavalry, dropped from his horse badly wounded. The rebels were cutting at him on the ground, when Middleton of the 29th Foot and Farrier Murphy rushed forward and rescued him. He died during the night. Mr Venables, the indigo planter,[1] was hit in the left arm by a musket shot, and died three days later of the wound. Lord Canning wrote: "Mr Venables, although bound to the service of the State by nothing save his courageous and patriotic spirit, had rendered the most valuable assistance to Government from the commencement of the mutinies, and had been greatly distinguished by his in-

Death of Mr Venables.

[1] See above, vol. ii. p. 257.

trepidity and energy, tempered with a singularly calm and sound judgment. The Governor-General records, with much sorrow, his sincere respect for the memory of Mr Venables."

The pursuers halted where they fought and sent back to Azimgarh for reinforcements. The following day Sir Edward Lugard despatched Brigadier Douglas in command of a wing of the 37th, the 84th, one company Madras Rifles, four guns, Major Cotter's battery Madras Artillery, two 3½ mortars, to join them. On the 17th Douglas attacked Koer Singh near Azimutghur and drove him from a strong position. Early next morning Douglas started again in pursuit, and when darkness fell he encamped within three or four miles of the rebels. But Koer Singh had no thought of staying where he was, and when he heard that the British had halted he quitted with all haste his position, marched to Sikandrapore, crossed the Gozogra by the ford near that place, and pushed on to Mandhur in the Ghazeepore District. Here he and his men, worn by their long and rapid march and by two engagements fought with so short an interval, halted in order to snatch some food and sleep. But there was no rest for them. At midnight on the 18th a report was received that the enemy were on the move, and two hours later Douglas was on their track. The heat was oppressive, and when the sun rose the rifles became hot and a heavy burden; but the troops trudged on over the roads deep in dust, and, after covering nearly

Brigadier Douglas attacks Koer Singh.

one hundred and twenty miles in five days, they came in sight of Koer Singh's position. The British at once attacked and dispersed the main body, who left on the field a brass 9-pounder gun, several limbers and waggons, an immense quantity of ammunition, and several elephants. Wrapped round the body of a native officer were found the colours of his old corps. Many strong forces drove the Bengal sepoy to mutiny, but he never lost his devotion to the regiment.

Pursuit of Koer Singh.

The rebels were pursued for about six miles, but with little success. Under their energetic and capable leader they had adopted the strategy of guerilla warfare, of breaking into columns when the blow fell, and the units under their commanders collecting again during the night at some appointed spot. The spot was never betrayed. When the day, which had been unusually severe, passed and darkness came, Douglas bivouacked and prepared to move early in the morning. But he was possessed of scanty information on which to base his movements. The whole countryside was in sympathy with the old Rajput Chief, and furnished him with accurate news regarding every movement of the British troops, while they took infinite pains to mystify and mislead the British Commander. Koer Singh was fully alive to the value in war of deceiving your adversary, and played the game with great skill. Our object was to follow him on the east and west until we closed upon him in the angle formed by the confluence of the Gogra

and the Ganges: his aim, to cross the Ganges and find shelter in his native jungle of Jugdeespore. The sacred stream was near, but he was hotly pursued, and how to cross it without being attacked was the difficult and delicate problem to be solved. It could only be done by misleading his foe. Koer Singh spread the rumour that, owing to his having no boats, he intended to make a dash for the river at a certain comparatively shallow spot and cross it on elephants. Colonel Cumberledge, who was operating on the west, watched the ford with two cavalry regiments. When Koer Singh heard that Douglas had bivouacked, he made with all secrecy and haste for Theopore Ghat, ten miles below where it had been stated he intended to cross. Here boats had been secretly collected for him. At two o'clock in the morning Douglas heard the startling news that the enemy had fled. He set forth at once in pursuit, and when at break of day he arrived on the bank of the river he saw a few of the rearmost boats crossing the wide waters. Douglas fired a few rounds after them and sunk the last boat. It was asserted by the natives after the campaign was over that the old chief was at this time shot in the arm, and with undaunted courage he himself amputated the shattered limb. On the 21st of April the stricken leader reached Jugdeespore, where he was joined by his brother Ummeer Singh and several thousand armed villagers. He had them posted in the jungles around his castle.

Koer Singh wounded in crossing the Ganges.

He reaches Jugdeespore.

On the 22nd of April Captain Le Grand of Her

Captain Le Grand advances against Jugdeespore, 22nd April 1858.

Majesty's 35th Regiment, who commanded the troops at Arrah, heard that Koer Singh and his followers had again occupied Jugdeespore. He determined to expel him from his stronghold as Vincent Eyre had done. That evening he moved out with his force, consisting of 150 men of his own regiment, 50 seamen of the Naval Brigade, 150 of Rattray's Sikhs, and two 12-pounder howitzers, to attack him. On the morning of the 23rd of April they observed the enemy in a village two miles from Jugdeespore busily employed in throwing up a breastwork. The two howitzers were moved up, and opened fire on the village. A company of the 35th deployed into line, while the Sikhs and sailors advanced in quarter-distance column with the other company of the 35th thrown out as skirmishers. "Upon arriving at the village we found it deserted, so we pushed on where the road led through a grove of mangoes. The skirmishers on the right, observing the enemy in great numbers flocking into a formidable position, opened fire on them, which was taken up by the whole line. The column was then halted, and ordered to form in line; but the men were so impatient, so eager to take revenge, that they paid no attention to the order! A few seconds after, a cheer was given by the skirmishers, who, perceiving the enemy pushing on in dense masses, were preparing to give them a taste of the bayonet, when the bugle sounded for them to fall back: this was a fatal error, it quite disheartened the men; and the enemy, who had wavered at the cheer and bold

Attacks the enemy two miles from Jugdeespore.

A fatal error.

front of our men, now grew valiant as they advanced unmolested, and took a position behind trees, brushwood, &c., and opened a galling fire from two guns, which was soon responded to by our artillery and infantry, and the action became general." For an hour the British troops, undismayed by the disparity in numbers, fought bravely, but they then began to be outflanked on the right and left, and the enemy's horse also began to make attempts to cut off their retreat. "The order was now given to retire—that order which no English soldier likes to hear, but it was obeyed; our two guns being necessarily left behind, as the horses that dragged them to the place were not now to be found. They were first spiked in the face of the enemy by Sergeant Howleben and Gunners Heytroy and Watson of the artillery, who nobly fell in the act of duty." Through the jungle the survivors made their way, steadily driving the mutineers back when they approached too near. As they emerged from the dense wood they saw a tank in an open plain, and losing all order they rushed to it and drank the foul stagnant water, for they were parched with thirst. A cry was raised that the enemy's horse was thundering down on them. "But no one would rise till Dr Clarke, running forward, drew his sword, and called on the men to form a square round him." They did so, and poured a volley into the advancing horsemen which "made them turn about and be off." Hopeless confusion now ensued; "every man had his own way; no commands were listened to; the men

The order given to retire.

Gallant action of Sergeant Howleben and Gunners Heytroy and Watson.

were raving wild," and when they gained the main road a terrible scene was witnessed. "The European portion of the force were falling from apoplexy by sections, and no aid could be administered, as the medical stores were captured by the enemy; the dhooly-bearers having fled, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the medical officers to keep them to their post. What was to be done? What aid could be given them? Nothing. There were sixteen elephants, but they carried the wounded; so the poor unfortunate beings were left behind to be cut to pieces." When they were again approaching the village Captain Le Grand was mortally wounded, and Lieutenant Massey and Dr Clarke "fell from apoplexy on the road, and were left to the mercy of the enemy." They had proceeded six miles on the road, when the soldiers and sailors "were unable to load and fire their pieces from exhaustion." Three miles from Arrah there were only eighty Europeans left from 199.[1] The disaster was as complete as it was sudden.

Le Grand mortally wounded.

Brigadier Douglas reaches Arrah, 1st May 1858.

When news of the disaster reached Douglas he at once crossed the Ganges with a strong detachment of the 84th Foot and two guns, and advanced at once towards Arrah, which he reached on the 1st of

[1] "The Dinapore folks have it that the 35th ran away from their officers and left them to be cut up. This is a disgraceful calumny, and I am happy to have it in my power to contradict it. Had the men been handled at the outset as Neille handled his fistful of men, they would have gone through fire and beaten the rebels though they were twenty times their number. Our loss is immense."—Letter from Fort Arrah, dated April 26th.

May. His force, however, was not sufficiently strong to attack Koer Singh in his lair—a jungle twenty-three miles in length—and he determined to risk nothing till he came in touch with Lugard. Sir Edward, on hearing of the misfortune which had befallen Le Grand, started at once from Azimgarh, and crossing the Ganges on the 3rd of May and two following days, he marched with his compact and mobile force in the direction of Arrah. On the 8th he arrived at Behar, in the vicinity of Jugdeespore. Sending two companies of the 84th Foot, with detachments of Madras Rifles and Sikh Horse and two horse-artillery guns, to reinforce the garrison at Arrah, he proceeded the following day to an open plain a little to the west of Jugdeespore. Here he intended to encamp until the small force which, under Colonel Corfield, was marching from Sasseram to reinforce him, should arrive. That afternoon a large body of rebels formed outside the jungle and moved in the direction of Arrah, but these were quickly followed by cavalry and horse artillery and driven back into the forest. Another body of rebels began at the same time to fire into Lugard's camp before the tents were fixed. He determined to attack them at once. Dividing his force into three columns he advanced, and Jugdeespore was taken after a slight resistance. The rebels retired to the village of Lutwarpore, in the jungle district, taking with them the two guns they had captured from the British. Koer Singh was no longer their leader. He had died of his wound soon after reaching Jugdeespore. He had no

Sir Edward Lugard marches in the direction of Arrah.

He captures Jugdeespore.

Death of Koer Singh.

military training, and he was advanced in age when he assumed command in the field, but he soon proved his aptitude for guerilla warfare. His strong will, dash, and courage won the allegiance and devotion of his followers.

Lugard pursues the enemy.

On the 10th of May, after ordering all the fortifications at Jugdeespore to be destroyed, Lugard set out in pursuit of the enemy. The following morning he heard that the rebels, who had been strongly entrenching themselves in two positions in the jungle district, intended to decamp.[1] Deeming it highly important that a blow should be struck before they separated, Lugard immediately advanced with 655 infantry, 155 cavalry, four 9-pounder guns, and two 5½-inch mortars through the jungle. The men carried nothing "but spare ammunition and soldiers' rations; elephants laden with puckalls of water accompanied the party, and to this arrangement I mainly ascribed the success of the operations and the safety of the troops; for the heat was beyond all description; scarcely a breath of wind penetrated the dense jungle, and many old and tried soldiers sank exhausted." Round them, right and left through the thickest part of the jungle, where our soldiers could scarcely penetrate, the enemy spread and attacked the rear flanks of the column, but the steadiness and quick fire of the companies of the 10th Foot in support sent them back, and the enemy were driven from

Advance through the jungle.

[1] From Brigadier-General Sir Edward Lugard, K.C.B., Commanding Azimgarh Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff, Camp, Jugdeespore, dated the 14th May 1858.

their two positions. At the same time a firing was heard in the south. It was Corfield, who, with Her Majesty's 6th Foot, the Indian Naval Brigade, and a small detachment of Sikhs, was attacking a party of rebels who had established themselves in some villages on the southern limits of the jungle.[1] "After storming the villages Corfield returned to his camp at 'Peeroo,' and it was not until the following day that I learnt of his co-operation, when I moved my party to the vicinity of his camp as the heat in the jungle was unbearable." Corfield's force acted only for a few hours before sunset, and during that time seven men died of sunstroke. Out of a party of one hundred and ten men of the 6th Foot "full sixty men fell out, most of whom had to be carried into camp." But in spite of the extreme heat and the exhaustion experienced by the troops as they entered the thick jungles, Lugard pressed the enemy steadily, had frequent encounters with them, and on the 27th of May he recaptured the guns which had been lost by the Arrah detachment. Ummeer Singh now more thoroughly organised the system of guerilla warfare which his brother had begun. He divided his men into commandos, or roving bands, which, avoiding conflict and evading the cavalry, kept harassing the troops, attacking the baggage, and cutting off supplies. Lugard met these tactics by cutting roads through the jungles, and he established posts by which the enemy were

Colonel Corfield storms two villages.

The enemy's well-organised system of guerilla warfare.

[1] From Colonel T. B. Corfield, Commanding S. P. Shahabad, to the Chief of the Staff with Brigadier-General Sir E. Lugard, Camp, "Peeroo," the 12th May 1858.

forced into more open ground. On the 4th of June he got a large body into the open, attacked them, and a dashing charge of the 4th and 10th resulted in many being slain. On the 15th of June Lugard reported that the enemy had been expelled from the jungles, and there was every prospect of an early pacification. The great hardships he had endured and the wearing anxieties and embarrassments under which he laboured were enough to shake the strongest constitution, and Lugard was forced on account of his health to resign his command and proceed to England. He had shown skill and decision as a commander, but the prospect of an early pacification soon proved illusory, and much hard work remained to be done. The bands grew smaller, but there was scarcely a patch of jungle or a village without its body of armed men. A party made a raid upon Gaya, burst open the jail, and released the prisoners. Another band swooped down upon Arrah and fired a number of bungalows. All through the hot season the guerilla war continued, and numerous expeditions were undertaken which entailed on the British soldiers the extremity of fatigue. In monsoon rain and under tropical sun they marched from place to place, foodless, to guard the main lines of communication and check the spread of rebellion. But the results were meagre. When October came and the rains ceased Douglas determined to have a great "drive." He divided his force, which now amounted to seven thousand, into seven columns. Four of these forces were to sweep the rebel bands from Buxar on the

Lugard forced to resign his command on account of health.

Douglas determines to have a great drive.

Ganges to Jugdeespore on the south, where the guerilla warfare would be ended by a decisive stroke. Two columns were to prevent them from breaking through on the east, and a column forming a line from the Ganges to the Soane from breaking through the western edge of the jungle. On the 15th of October the drive began. The ring round the quarry grew smaller: the beaters drove the rebel bands steadily into the jungle. On the 17th the columns prepared to surround and capture them. Then there came a sudden inundation: a column was delayed for some hours, and the enemy, now desperate, rushed out of the jungle and turned their face eastwards with the object of crossing the Soane. Douglas had few cavalry, and the British soldier, though he could endure fatigue, could not travel as swiftly as the rebel in his native country. On the staff of Douglas was a soldier brave, vehement, and impulsive, who was also impassive to fatigue and patient to endure. In all he did there was a manifestation of military genius, and, like his father, he had trained his intellect for war. The story has been told of young Havelock's daring actions when he accompanied his father in the first relief of Cawnpore and Lucknow, of the valour he displayed at the capture of the Char Bagh bridge, and the strong resolution with which he led his men from house to house and captured the Kaiser Bagh.[1] On the 19th of March Lucknow was captured. Ten days later Havelock, as Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, accompanied Lugard's

Captain Henry Havelock.

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 264-271.

column to the relief of Azimgarh, and in all the combats showed his wonted fire. He had accompanied General Franks as Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General in his march from the eastern frontier of Oudh to Lucknow.[1] Franks, in order to make up for his deficiency in cavalry, had mounted 25 men of the 10th Foot and placed them under the command of an artillery officer. Havelock, having witnessed the great service which they had rendered, now suggested to Douglas that 60 men of the 10th Foot, who had been hastily trained, should be employed as mounted infantry under his command to pursue the rebels who had broken through the jungle and were marching at full speed towards the Soane. The proposal was accepted.

Havelock proposes mounted infantry.

On the 18th of October, about 8 P.M., Havelock set out from his post near Jugdeespore with the mounted infantry and three troops of the military train and sixty cavalry as supports to head them. On the morning of the 19th he reached the Soane, and the rebels found themselves headed. Two columns of native infantry, who had also been despatched, were pursuing, one north and one south, a course parallel with their line of march. They could not cross the river, and they were in imminent danger of being surrounded. For twelve hours they halted, uncertain what course to follow, and then they turned round and hurried off south-westward.

Leads the mounted infantry

Havelock, with the mounted column, followed hard, at the same time, by means of patrols, keeping in touch with the infantry detachments and guarding

Pursuit of the foe day and night.

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 264-271.

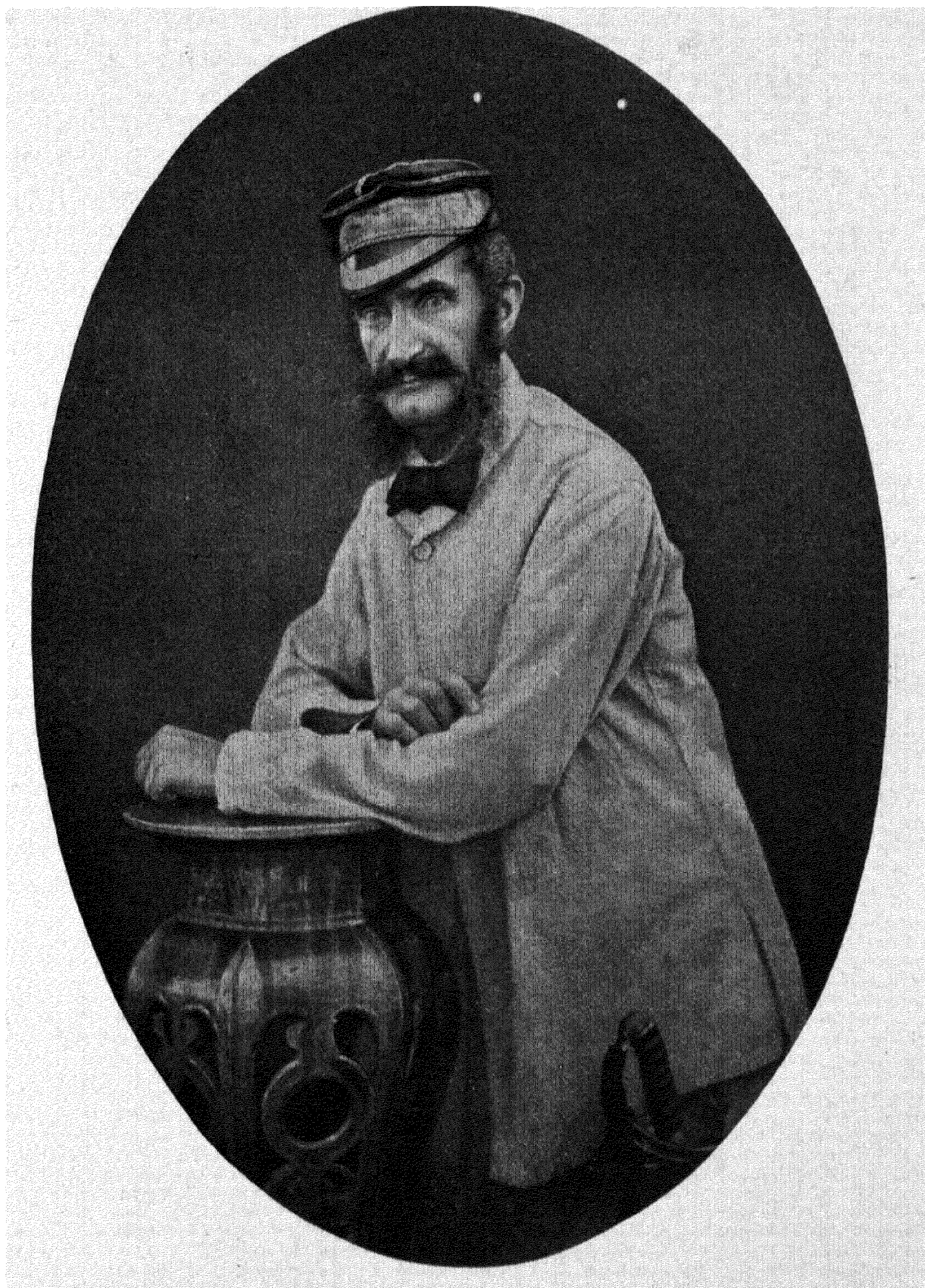
their movements. The rebels made an attempt to regain their old lair, the Jugdeespore jungle, but finding themselves barred they moved with incredible speed directly westwards. They could not, however, shake off their pursuer. They fled along the ridges of the flooded rice-fields. The mounted infantry rode through the swamps. On the 20th of October Havelock came up with their rear-guard and hemmed them in a village until an infantry column came to his aid. The village was stormed and some hundreds were slain. Ummeer Singh, their leader, who was in disguise, found safety in a field of tall sugar-cane. The main body continued its flight: the hunt drove on, though many of the horses dropped dead in the chase. The rebels doubled again and again, but by the bold and prompt manœuvres of the infantry columns they were again and again turned back. On the evening of the 23rd Havelock got within a short distance of them, but the horses were too tired to head them or charge, and though many fell by the long range of the rifle, the rest gained the cover of the Kaimur hills, which bound the south-west of the Shahabad District. Havelock had pursued the foe for five days and nights and covered two hundred miles. During the five days the British infantry marched twenty-five miles a-day, and the average daily march of the mounted riflemen was hardly less than forty miles—a fine feat. But the enemy did not long enjoy the shelter of the hills. The termination of the contest in South Behar would liberate and render available an important

The rebels driven to the Kaimur hills.

body of troops for the forthcoming campaign in Oudh, and the Commander-in-Chief ordered that they should be followed into the heart of the hills and dispersed. By slippery hill-paths, across defiles one mass of boulders, and through dense forests, the columns made their way. On November 24th, immediately night had fallen, Douglas led out his men, and, advancing stealthily and silently through the jungle, they completely surprised the main body of the mutineers as they slept around their camp fires. Many were shot in the brief struggle, the rest fled, leaving behind them a large store of ammunition. So ended the campaign in the province. The rebels did not again take stand in positions or in organised numbers, and by the close of the year Douglas reported that he had stamped out the last flicker of rebellion in the districts under his command. In Western Behar the operations did not result in any great victory, but they illustrated the true greatness of the British soldier's character.

Douglas surprises the main body of the mutineers in the hills.

End of the Western Behar campaign.



General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B.

CHAPTER XVI.

ON the 5th of June Sir Colin Campbell left Futtehghur for Allahabad, which he intended to make his headquarters while directing the measures for the subjugation of Oudh in the winter. On the 11th of June he wrote to the Duke of Cambridge: "Since I had the honour of addressing your Royal Highness, I have taken up my quarters at Allahabad, where I have had the pleasure of meeting the Governor-General. He, I am happy to say, has nearly recovered from a severe attack of fever." He added: "Oudh remains in about the same state as when I last wrote. If there be a difference, it is that the rebels have rather closed in on the capital. We must remain on the defensive in that country for some months till the return of the cool weather." Sir Colin Campbell arrives at Allahabad.

Four days after Walpole with his column[1] left Walpole's column

[1] *Cavalry.*

Her Majesty's 7th Hussars.
Her Majesty's 2nd Dragoon Guards (1 squadron).
1st Sikh Cavalry (Wale's). Hodson's Horse (1 squadron).

Artillery.

One Troop Horse Artillery. One Light Field Battery.
One Heavy Field Battery.

Infantry.

Brigadier Horsford's Brigade—
Her Majesty's 38th Regiment.
Her Majesty's 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.
1st Bengal Fusiliers.
A wing 5th Punjab Rifles.
Detail of Sappers and Miners.

leaves Lucknow.

Lucknow for Rohilcund, Hope Grant led a column about three thousand strong with some eighteen guns against a large body of rebels who, under the command of the Fyzabad Moulvie, had taken up their position at Baree about twenty-nine miles north-west of Lucknow. On the 13th of April at daybreak, when marching along a bad track, the British advance-guard came upon a strong cavalry picket of the enemy. They at once charged. Two Horse Artillery guns unlimbered, loaded, and opened a round of canister upon them. But on they galloped swiftly and pluckily. "When they had come near enough to take in the position," says Lord Wolseley (who was present as Quartermaster-General to Sir Hope Grant), "they swerved from our front, and went helter-skelter into a squadron of Wale's Horse that had formed up on the other side of the guns."[1] Then a desperate hand-to-hand conflict ensued: Lieutenant Prendergast, who commanded the Sikhs, was wounded: the two guns were theirs. Suddenly through the clouds of dust they saw a squadron of the 7th Hussars ready to charge them, and they wheeled about and galloped off.[2] Now some thousand in number, they made for the British rear, intent on attacking their baggage, which extended over a line of nearly three miles. But when they appeared from behind a village and were in the act of charging, a troop of the 7th

Action at Baree, 13th April 1858.

[1] "The Story of a Soldier's Life," by Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley, O.M., K.P., G.C.B., &c., vol. i. p. 355.

[2] "Life of General Sir Hope Grant," by Colonel Henry Knollys, vol. i. p. 352.

Hussars, who were ready prepared for them, dashed down and galloped through them, putting them to flight and sabring many of them. "Captain Topham, who commanded the troop and who had run a native officer through the body, was wounded by a lance. He had two men mortally and six men slightly wounded." Soon after, another body of the rebels charged down upon the baggage, but were met by two companies of the Bengal Fusiliers, who poured a volley into them when within thirty yards distant which rolled a number in the dust.[1] After this no further effort was made by the rebel horse on the flank, and the order was given for the infantry to advance. "The enemy occupied," says Hope Grant, "a village on a hill in front of us, at the base of which a stream flowed. Large columns were posted on both sides of the valley. I threw out the Rifle Brigade in skirmishing order, supported by the 5th Punjab Corps. The main line in rear advanced close up to the village under a heavy fire and stormed it gallantly, capturing two colours. We afterwards advanced and took the higher ground, the rebels bolting without firing a shot."[2] They continued their retreat until they crossed the border of Oudh and joined the rebels in Rohilcund.

[1] Lord Wolseley writes: "At the moment I was engaged in posting two companies of the Bengal Fusiliers to protect the flank where our baggage was being collected. The Fusiliers stood well, and received them with a well-delivered volley that emptied many saddles. The enemy had charged well home; indeed one of their sowars was killed amongst our dhoolies."—"The Story of a Soldier's Life," by Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley, O.M., K.P., G.C.B., &c., p. 356.

[2] "Life of General Sir Hope Grant," by Colonel Henry Knollys, vol. i. p. 353.

From Baree, Hope Grant turned to the right and proceeded north to Muhammadabad, close to the Gogra, in the expectation of intercepting the most formidable of the rebel leaders, the Begum. On arriving there, he found the enemy had dispersed on the approach of the column. The same news awaited him on reaching Ramnugger on the 15th of April. The rebel bands to the north having been scattered, Hope Grant returned to Lucknow and proceeded to disperse the commandos in the south, east, and west, and to capture several of the forts belonging to the Oudh Talookdars. But no sooner was one body of clansmen dispersed than another body appeared in another spot. During all the month of May, in the hottest of hot weather, Hope Grant was constantly on the march, and men, stifled by the heat and dust, daily "fell out by dozens." Early in June the rebels began to gather again in the north-east, and Hope Grant, learning that they were assembling in great force at Nawabgunj, on the Fyzabad road, eighteen miles from Lucknow, determined to disperse them. He marched with a strong division [1] to Chinhut, where Colonel Purnell with a column twelve hundred strong was already encamped. On arriving there he learnt that the enemy had taken up a very strong position. They

Hope Grant returns to Lucknow.

Marches to Chinhut.

[1] It consisted of the 1st and 2nd battalions Rifle Brigade, and the 5th Punjab Infantry, five hundred Hodson's Horse, under Lieutenant-Colonel Daly; one hundred and fifty Wale's Horse, under Prendergast; two hundred and fifty Bruce's Horse Police, under Hill; the 7th Hussars, under Colonel Sir William Russell; two squadrons Queen's Bays; Mackinnon's Horse Artillery; and Gibbon's and Carleton's batteries. The whole of the cavalry was commanded by Colonel Hagart. —Kaye and Malleson's "History of the Indian Mutiny," vol. v. p. 186 n.

were posted upon a large plateau, surrounded on three sides by a stream, which was crossed by a fine old stone bridge at a little distance from Nawabgunj. On the fourth side was a jungle. To turn their right and to interpose between them and the jungle was Hope Grant's desire. He ascertained that there was a ford, or rather a platform, about two miles up the stream, by which he determined to cross. It was about twelve miles away, and in order to escape the heat and surprise the enemy, Hope Grant determined to leave his tents and baggage under the protection of the column and make a night march with his division. At 11 P.M. the men fell in to begin their march. It was terribly dark, "and it was no easy matter to find our way in the open plains, the latter six miles being entirely across open country; but fortunately we had an excellent native guide."[1] About half an hour before the break of day the bridge was reached, and after a short rest four companies of Rifles, a troop of Horse Artillery, and some cavalry crossed. The enemy were completely taken by surprise. Their force was divided into four parts, each commanded by its separate leader, and they had no time to concentrate. There was, however, no lack of gallant and desperate men, and a large body of Talookdaree troops, bringing two guns into the open, attacked the British in the rear. They made a mad rush upon Hodson's Horse and broke their formation. The two guns with the corps were in great jeopardy. Hope Grant

Action at Nawab-gunj.

[1] "Life of General Sir Hope Grant," by Colonel Henry Knollys, vol. ii. p. 9.

ordered up the 7th Hussars and the other four guns belonging to the battery. They soon arrived, and galloping to within 500 yards of the enemy, opened a fire of grape which mowed them down. "Their chief, a big fellow with a *goître* on his neck, nothing daunted, caused two green standards to be planted close to the guns and used them as a rallying point; but our grape fire was so destructive, that whenever they attempted to serve their pieces they were struck down." Two squadrons of the 7th Hussars under Sir William Russell, and two companies of the Rifles, now came up and forced the survivors to abandon the two guns, leaving 125 corpses around them. They slowly retired, waving their swords and spears at their foes, and defiantly calling upon them to come on. The Hussars twice charged them. Captain Charles Fraser, a daring and brilliant cavalry leader, got right in among some of the enemy's horse and foot, and there was many a fierce hand-to-hand encounter. Augustus Anson also "charged with Fraser and joined in this *mêlée* to his heart's content." When he was seen "after the charge, his flea-bitten grey was bleeding from many a sabre cut."[1] Fraser was awarded the Victoria

Gallantry of the rebels.

Charles Fraser and Augustus Anson.

[1] Lord Wolseley, who took part in the charge, writes: "Augustus Anson, V.C., was riding a big flea-bitten greyish Gulf Arab that had belonged to his uncle, General Anson, who died when Commander-in-Chief at the beginning of the Mutiny. Augustus, an indifferent horseman and a bad swordsman, never lost a chance of taking part in any cavalry charge that 'was going' in his neighbourhood. So of course he also charged with Fraser, and joined in this *mêlée* to his heart's content. When I saw him after the charge, his flea-bitten grey was bleeding from many a sabre cut. During the course of the Mutiny he had had a large number of hand-to-hand encounters with individual

Cross for his gallant charge. After three hours' hard combat the enemy finally gave way, leaving six guns and about 600 dead on the field. The British loss in killed and wounded was 67, and in addition 33 men died from sunstroke and 250 were taken into hospital. "The men fell asleep in their tents and never awoke—apoplexy, resulting from exposure to the sun, being the immediate cause of death." The action was a brilliant and important success, and of considerable political importance. The rebels, some fifteen thousand in number, were dispersed, and it checked other large hostile bodies from concentrating so near Lucknow.

Hope Grant's force remained at Nawabgunj, while their commander proceeded to Lucknow to consult with the Civil Commissioner. But he soon returned, having been ordered by the Commander-in-Chief to march to the relief of Maun Singh, a Brahman Talookdar of considerable wealth and influence. He had with consummate cunning and fine skill played a double game; but when the tide had begun to turn in favour of the British, he had (in June) become a loyal subject. The other great zemindars, incensed at his duplicity, besieged him in his strong fort near Fyzabad. He appealed to the Government for assistance,

The relief of Maun Singh.

Sowars, in which he had generally killed his man. I can see him in action in my mind's eye now, with his mouth firmly closed and determination marked on every feature of his face. He was in every sense a soldier, absolutely indifferent to danger; he revelled in those hand-to-hand encounters. His family should revere his memory, for he was a relative to be remembered: I know that I am proud to have been his friend."—"The Story of a Soldier's Life," by Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley, O.M., K.P., G.C.B., vol. i. pp. 372, 373.

and they felt bound in honour to relieve him. On the 22nd of July, Hope Grant left Nawabgunj with the 1st Madras Europeans, the 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade, the 1st Punjab Infantry, the 7th Hussars, 500 Hodson's Horse, twelve light guns, and a train of heavy guns, and after a week's rapid marching he occupied Fyzabad without opposition and relieved Maun Singh from his beleaguerment. On the 8th of August, Sir Colin wrote to the Duke of Cambridge: "The movement I had the honour to report to your Royal Highness as about to be made upon Fyzabad by Sir Hope Grant, in my letter of the 24th ultimo, has come off very successfully. Fyzabad is now occupied, a body of about 20,000 rebels having broken upon his approach from before Shahgunj, the stronghold of Rajah Maun Singh, who had been besieged for some time. The rebel force marched away in two parties—viz., one across the Ghogra at Fyzabad, the other towards Sultanpoor on the Goomtee. Sir H. Grant has been ordered to pursue the parties to Sultanpoor. That place will now be occupied by our troops. In due time the Goomtee will be bridged at that point, and the Ghogra at Fyzabad. But your Royal Highness will perceive that, although we have had no fighting, the most important strategical movement has been made since the siege of Lucknow towards the reduction of Oudh."[1] Owing to the heavy fall of rain, Hope Grant was not able

Letter from Sir Colin Campbell.

[1] "The Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., vol. ii. pp. 282, 283.

to at once comply with the order of the Commander-in-Chief to send a column to expel the enemy from Sultanpore. It was not till the 7th of August that a column composed of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, the 5th Punjab Rifles, a detachment of 7th Hussars, 300 Hodson's Horse, and a troop of Horse Artillery marched under the command of Brigadier Horsford. Five days later they arrived about three and a half miles from the town, which was situated on the other bank of the river Sai.[1] The enemy, Horsford discovered by a reconnaissance, held it in force, and they were prepared to oppose his passage over the stream, which had become wide, deep, and rapid from the recent rains. They were well provided with guns, and well posted to dispute any attempt at crossing. Horsford determined not to run the risk with his small force. He reported the state of affairs to Hope Grant and awaited orders. At the same time information reached the Commander-in-Chief that the enemy's force at Sultanpore amounted to 14,000 men with fifteen guns, and he telegraphed to Grant to send reinforcements to Horsford. The keenest of soldiers, whom neither heat nor rain could stop, "thought it well to accompany them" himself, and on the morning of the 19th of August he marched with all his guns of position and all his "available force, which had been strengthened by a

Horsford's column sent to Sultanpore.

Hope Grant proceeds to Sultanpore.

[1] The river Sai rises in Hardoi district between the Gumtī and the Ganges, flows in a tortuous south-east direction through the districts of Unao, Rae Barelī, and Partabgarh to Jaunpur district, and falls into the Gumtī after a course of over 350 miles.—See "The Imperial Gazetteer of India," new ed., *s.v.*, Sai.

wing of the 53rd Regiment."[1] Sultanpore was reached on the fourth day, and Hope Grant was anxious to force the river at once, but all the boats had been removed by the enemy. Three small very rotten canoes, hollowed out of a tree, were found, and the engineer officers with a party of Madras Sappers set to work and soon converted them into a substantial raft. Six little boats were also discovered in a creek, and they too were converted into two additional rafts. On the morning of the 25th of August, the Madras Fusiliers and 5th Punjab Infantry crossed the Sai in two hours. "Next came two 9-pounder guns; but in embarking one of them the back of a canoe was broken and the whole raft collapsed. We were therefore obliged to dismount the guns from their carriages and ferry them across separately. The horses were forced to swim, and some of them were inclined to jib in the water, but the Sikhs managed them admirably. Each man swam across leading a horse, of which he rarely loosed his hold, keeping clear of the animal's heels, although he often became restive. Only two horses were drowned during the entire operation."[2] Hope Grant now directed Colonel

Hope Grant forces the river.

[1] "Life of General Sir Hope Grant," by Colonel Henry Knollys, vol. ii. p. 19.

"We took with us two heavy guns and four 8-inch mortars, which increased the difficulty of our march over flooded tracks into which our wheels sank often to the axle. But the elephant, that most intelligent of beasts, and most useful also when you can feed him, managed to pull and push these heavy pieces over the worst parts."—"The Story of a Soldier's Life," by Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley, O.M., K.P., G.C.B., &c., vol. i. p. 379.

[2] "Life of General Sir Hope Grant," by Colonel Henry Knollys, vol. ii. pp. 20, 21.

Galway, who commanded the force which had crossed over, to attack and occupy two villages in his front, where the river formed a bend, and where the enemy had a picket. The Madras Fusiliers and the 5th Punjab Infantry quickly and gallantly gained possession of them. The enemy now opened a heavy fire on the advanced force, and the Rifles were sent across to support. Two days, however, passed before the main body completed the passage of the broad rushing stream. The heavy guns, artillery park, and hospital had to be left with a wing of the 53rd to guard them. On the evening of the 28th the enemy assailed and forced the British position, but they were checked, and after a short obstinate fight, repulsed. The darkness prevented a pursuit. When day broke, the British troops advanced against the enemy's position, "but they had retreated, and the only traces of them were a number of straw huts." Sultanpore was occupied without further opposition. This terminated Hope Grant's summer operations. During the months of September and October little was done beyond taking and destroying some forts which were of strategical importance with regard to the operations for the subjugation of Oudh, which the Commander-in-Chief was planning to effect during the coming winter.

Termination of Hope Grant's summer operations.

The eminent and brilliant services which Sir Colin had rendered to his Sovereign had received Her Majesty's most cordial approval, and by her most gracious command he was raised to the

Sir Colin Campbell raised to the peerage.

peerage, under the title of Baron Clyde of Clydesdale. Many and hearty were the congratulations which he received on his new honour, but none he valued more than the noble and generous words, prompted by a soldier's true spirit, which Sir Patrick Grant wrote: "Every soldier will rejoice to see his profession thus honoured through you; and the united voice of the nation hails your elevation to the high dignity with genuine satisfaction and pride." Sir Colin's reply reveals his feelings with regard to his new dignity. "It is a great honour this title they have been pleased to confer upon me, and I warmly and gratefully appreciate the gracious kindness of Her Majesty; but to you I must be known by my old name, which it would have been very grateful to me to have retained, with the rank I have been so fortunate as to obtain in the profession, without other rank or distinction. I have neither wife nor child: my means had made me independent of the income of my profession; besides which, I deem myself rich, because I have no wants. I should therefore have been very grateful to have been left without other rank than my professional one."[1] Lord Clyde, not only in his private letters, but in his demi-official correspondence, continued to make use of his old name. Lady Canning writes: "Lord Clyde at last allows himself to be so called; but it was no easy matter to get him to bear it meekly, and he put it off again and again,

Sir Colin's feelings with regard to his new dignity.

[1] "Life of Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., vol. ii. p. 322.

till at last, after his staff had been snubbed many times, it was published in a General Order, and he had to resign himself."[1]

The East India Company.

The grant of an annuity of £2000 to Lord Clyde by the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors was one of the last important acts of the East India Company. When the news of the wild fanatic outbreak in 1857 reached England, and the stories of the massacres became widely known, all classes were affected with horror. They were ignorant, not in a mood to discriminate, and a verdict of condemnation was passed on the East India Company. History will have to revise that verdict. The Court of Directors were attacked for measures they never originated and some they even opposed. It was Sir John Hobhouse (Lord Broughton), President of the Board of Control, who boasted with regard to the first Afghan War that "he alone did it." But the disastrous retreat of the British troops from Kabul damaged our prestige, and was one of the primary causes of the revolt of a mercenary army. It was Her Majesty's Government who were answerable for that policy of annexation which, to the Hindu people, seemed irreconcilable with that respect for native feelings, laws, and usages which must always be the cardinal principle of British rule in India. The home government of India by a Minister for India and the Court of Directors was reproached for being a double government. The three East India Bills were attempts to remove the

[1] "The Life of the Second Earl of Granville," by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, vol. i. p. 315.

inherent defect of "the double government" and to create a home administration of Indian affairs which would scrutinise and revise the past acts of the Indian Government, lay down principles and issue general instructions for their future guidance, and also provide adequate protection for the people of India against the ignorance, the indiscretion, and the errors of Parliament or the Ministers. On the 12th of February 1858, Lord Palmerston moved to bring in a bill (No. 1) for the better government of India, and on the 18th the second reading was carried by a division of 318 to 173. But the next day the Liberal Ministry was turned out of office on the question of the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, and Lord Derby became Premier, with Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the able but imperious and impetuous Lord Ellenborough as President of the Board of Control. A new India bill (No. 2) was introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with considerable skill; but owing to the great and decided objections urged against many of the provisions of the measure, the House agreed to the suggestion of Lord John Russell that it should proceed by resolution. On the 30th of April the first resolution—"That it is expedient to transfer the Government of India to the Crown"—was carried. Before the House met to discuss the second resolution, Lord Ellenborough had resigned, owing to the strong indignation excited by the publication of the secret despatch censuring Lord Canning for his Oudh Proclamation. Three objections were raised to the despatch—first, that

Lord Palmerston moves to bring in a bill (No. 1) for the better government of India.

New India bill (No. 2) introduced by Mr Disraeli.

House of Commons determines to proceed by resolution.

it prematurely condemned Lord Canning; secondly, that its terms were unfitting, even supposing the Proclamation deserved condemnation; thirdly, that it was detrimental to the authority of the Governor-General. Lord Russell, in the course of the debate in the House, remarked: "It was no doubt a very fine piece of writing, and may rank with many passages from our classics, but was it fitting that the Government should hurl these sarcasms at a man placed in the position of the Governor-General?" Lord Stanley, who had made a tour through India, became President of the Board of Control. After many nights of debate upon resolutions, the House got weary of an academic discussion as to what the Bill ought to be, and seeing that there was no hope of coming to any practical decision with regard to the proposed constituency, it determined to drop the proceeding by resolution, and leave was granted to bring in a new bill. On the 24th of June the second reading of the East India (No. 3) Bill was moved by Lord Stanley and carried after a short discussion in the House of Commons. On the 8th of July the Bill, as amended (and it was considerably amended), was read the third time. The Bill went through its various stages in the House of Lords with comparatively little discussion and a few unimportant amendments. On the 2nd of August the Royal assent was given to the measure, by which the government of the territories and all powers vested in or exercised by the Company "*in trust for Her Majesty*" shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the Company. So ended the rule of the

East India (No. 3) Bill moved by Lord Stanley.

End of the rule of the Company, 2nd August 1858.

"Company of Merchant Adventurers trading to the East Indies"—merchants with the sentiments and abilities of great statesmen, whose servants founded an Empire which they governed with firmness and equity. It was determined, at the suggestion of Disraeli, that a Royal Proclamation, announcing to the people of India the transfer of the direct government from the Company to the Crown, should be issued, and a draft of it was sent to Her Majesty. On the 15th of August the Queen wrote to Lord Derby: "The Queen has asked Lord Malmesbury to explain in detail to Lord Derby her objections to the draft of Proclamation for India. The Queen would be glad if Lord Derby would write it himself in his excellent language, bearing in mind that it is a female sovereign who speaks to more than 100,000,000 of Eastern people on assuming the direct government over them after a bloody civil war, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem and explaining the principles of her government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious feeling, pointing out the privileges which Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilisation."

Letter from the Queen to Lord Derby, 15th August 1858.

The Royal Proclamation read throughout India, 1st November 1858.

On the 1st of November a Royal Proclamation, translated into the many languages and dialects in use throughout the wide and varied continent, was read, with the degree of ceremonial splendour that the circumstances of the time would allow, in

all the great centres of population and at every civil and military station in India. The Proclamation was drafted according to the sound and liberal views of the Queen. It declared the direct sovereignty of Her Majesty over all territories administered directly or through native princes, and it constituted Viscount Canning "our first Viceroy and Governor-General to administer the Government in our name and on our behalf." It guaranteed the scrupulous maintenance of all treaties and engagements made with the native princes, and it promised that the rights, dignity, and honours of native princes should be respected "as our own" on the expressed condition "that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government." The Proclamation continued: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may

The Queen's Proclamation.

Viscount Canning constituted "our first Viceroy and Governor-General."

Message to the people and native princes of India.

A noble declaration.

be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure. And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." The great Proclamation was a noble declaration of the eternal doctrine of the equality of man, to millions who had for ages been treated as outcasts by a dominant sacerdotal race. It announced to all who had been guilty of the sin of rebellion the exercise, by a living sovereign inspired by sentiments of love and justice, of the divine prerogative of mercy. "Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been or shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such, the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy. To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, . . . their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance, and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in a too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men. To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all

Clemency extended to all offenders except those guilty of murder.

offence against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits. It is our Royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the first day of January next. When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

Proclamation read at Allahabad, 1st November 1858.

On the 1st of November, Lord Canning, accompanied by Lord Clyde and General Mansfield's staff, and attended by his bodyguard, rode through a double line of infantry and military police to a sort of dais which had been erected outside the fort at Allahabad. It was filled with officers in uniform, civil officials, a few ladies, "and one or two natives." Mr Edmonstone, the Foreign Secretary, read the Royal Proclamation in English and Urdu, and a blare of trumpets and the roar of cannon announced the commencement of a new reign. A few days after the extinction of the East India Company had been publicly proclaimed there came to Allahabad, "in a shabby palanquin, and surrounded by lancers with their weapons ready," the Great

End of the line of the Great Moghul Cæsars.

Moghul. He was a state prisoner on his journey to Calcutta, where he was to embark for Burmah. Fifty years before, the aged Emperor, Shah Alam, had been rescued by the armies of the Company from the thraldom of the Marathas and restored to his throne under English protection. On the 11th of May 1857, the restoration of Moghul rule was proclaimed at Delhi with a salute of guns and beat of drums; on the 12th of May the Emperor, seated on a silver throne, received in the great Hall of Audience the homage of the officers of the revolted sepoys. On the 16th of May forty-nine Christian captives, nearly all of them women and children, were murdered in the palace. The Emperor did nothing to save them. On the 7th of November 1862, Bahadur Shah, "the Shelter of the World," the monarch of the "royal court at which Darius might have served as a door-keeper," died a prisoner at Rangoon. So ended the line of the great Moghul Cæsars.

CHAPTER XVII.

On the morning after the Proclamation of Her Majesty had been read throughout India, Lord Clyde rode out from Allahabad to open the campaign which was to consolidate the peace of India by extinguishing the last sparks of rebellion. The plan for the subjugation of Oudh, which he had prepared and was about to carry out with his usual vigour, was distinguished at once by its vastness, its thoroughness, and its simplicity. All the operations were treated as a whole, with due regard to the final campaign in the winter, from the great outline and features of which a departure was not at any time permitted. On the 2nd of October, Lord Clyde, in forwarding a memorandum to the Duke of Cambridge on the projected plan of the final campaign, wrote: "Your Royal Highness will observe that it is intended to operate in three quarters about the same time, it being necessary, if it can be done, to shut out the possibility of the more powerful rebels transporting themselves from one part of the province to another after they shall have been compelled to abandon their estates." Two columns from Rohilcund were to advance into Oudh; one from Furruckabad at the south end was to clear and secure the south-west; the other, from Shah-

The plan for the subjugation of Oudh.

Lord Clyde's memorandum to the Duke of Cambridge.

jehanpore further north, was to operate in the north-west of Oudh, and driving the rebels in a north-east direction towards the Gogra, was to reoccupy Seetapoore. At the same time, four brigades, starting from Soraon in the south-east, not far from Allahabad, were to sweep the great Baiswarra district between the Ganges and Goomtee, capture the numerous forts of the great feudal landholders, and gradually drive them and their powerful bands across the Gogra. A third column was to advance simultaneously from Azimghur on the east, and, crossing the Oudh frontier, was to secure South Behar from any sudden irruption of rebel commandos, and to drive them to the west and northward towards the Gogra. The rebels having been driven on the north-west, west, south, and east across the Gogra, the second plan of the campaign was (after having strongly guarded the river to prevent them from slipping back) to draw tighter the cordon by which they were being hemmed in, and force them back across the Raptee upon the frontier of Nepaul, where they would be captured or perish in the malarious belt at the foot of the mountains. It was intended that the grand sweeping movement through Oudh should begin in November, but the rebels opened the campaign as soon as the monsoon rains ceased.

Action at Sundeela, 7th October 1858.

On the 4th of October, a rebel leader with 12,000 men and four guns attacked the British post at Sundeela, a town north-west of Lucknow, chiefly occupied by Pathans. The garrison, commanded by Captain Dawson, consisted of fourteen hundred

infantry (mainly newly raised police battalions) and five hundred irregular cavalry. Dawson, on hearing of the approach of the enemy so vastly superior in numbers, placed his infantry in a small mud fort and sent his cavalry away. After having held the enemy at bay for two days he was relieved by Major Maynard of the 88th Regiment, who arrived from Lucknow with a small force. On the 7th, Brigadier G. R. Barker reached Sundeela with a strong column, and the following morning he attacked the enemy's position, which "was admirably chosen, the village being situated on high ground completely commanding the whole plain over which we had to pass, and surrounded with 'Dhauk' jungle and numerous jeels." Through the jungle the troops advanced steadily, heedless of the fire opened on them from the guns about the village and the matchlocks concealed in the scrub around. The high position in front of the village was gallantly rushed by a party of the Rifle Brigade under Lieutenant Green, and as the rebels' left flank was at the same time threatened, they dispersed through the jungle in full retreat. Their total loss was great, and the British casualties were also severe. "Among the wounded (and I am sorry to say he is dangerously so) is Lieutenant Green of the Rifle Brigade, who was attacked by a number of sepoys whilst leading his men through a thick piece of jungle; he received nine sabre cuts before his men could destroy the whole party, some twenty or thirty. This officer had behaved so gallantly all through the day, that I most deeply

Gallantry of Lieutenant Green of the Rifle Brigade.

Sergeant-Major Ward and Trumpeter Smith, 2nd Dragoon Guards.

lament this misfortune."[1] Among those specially mentioned in Brigadier Barker's despatch[1] were Sergeant-Major Ward and Trumpeter Smith, 2nd Dragoon Guards, "the latter a mere boy, engaged a sepoy and had his horse shot under him." Barker marched from Sundeela, and on the last day of the month attacked the strong fort of Birwah, almost surrounded by thorny jungle, and took it by assault after eight hours' firing. The breach in the S.-W. bastion, "although most difficult to get up," was ascended, Ensign Richards, Rifle Brigade, being "the first man at the top, closely followed by Major Goodenough, R.A., and Colour-Sergeant Maloney of the Rifle Brigade."[2] At the same time, "the 88th, under Major Maynard, entered by the main gate on the east in the most gallant style, the enemy receiving them with a round of grape as they advanced; the gate was blown to atoms by Lieutenant Carnegie, B.E., who, I regret to say, was severely burnt in the attempt, owing to the fuze burning slowly and his advancing a second time to ascertain the cause." The citadel was taken, but the enemy still held out in the various buildings inside. Gholab Singh, the rebel leader, with a few of his own men, retired to a house in the centre, and from loopholes and windows sent forth a rapid and deadly musketry fire. Many of the assailants

Birwah taken by assault.

[1] From Brigadier Geo. R. Barker, Commanding at Sundeela, to Brigadier Chute, Commanding at Lucknow, Camp Sundeela, the 9th October 1858.

[2] From Brigadier Geo. R. Barker, Commanding troops, Sundeela, to Major-General Sir William Mansfield, K.C.B., Chief of the Staff, dated Camp Sundeela, 24th October 1858.

fell. "Captain Dawson, in a most gallant attempt to get inside, received a sabre cut on the right arm." It was now getting dusk, and as many of his men had fallen, Brigadier Barker determined to blow up what part of the house he could and let the rest burn, for it was already on fire. A side of the house was blown down and exposed the courtyard, but as the mansion was found to consist of a number of small rooms, Barker did not consider he was justified in incurring further loss in forcing an entrance. He left strong parties to guard the doors by which the enemy could escape. Many of the rebels were buried in the explosion; but the few who remained continued to fire from the burning pile. Gholab Singh and about ten of his men effected their escape during the night "by making a sudden rush to one of the bastions and scrambling into the ditch, whence they knew a path to the jungle; it is said Gholab Singh was wounded and eventually got off."

Colonel Hall's column marches into Oudh, 15th October 1858.

On the 15th of October a small column, under the command of Colonel Hall of the 82nd Foot, marched from Furruckabad into Oudh. Hall was instructed to move towards Sundeela, reducing the country as he went, until he came under the command of Brigadier Barker. Seven days after he had stormed Birwah, Barker, co-operating with Hall, captured Rooya to the west of Sundeela.

Brigadier Evelegh defeats the rebels at Miranganj.

While Hall was advancing from the west, Brigadier Evelegh was clearing the ground along the Ganges towards him from the south up to Sundeela. On the 5th of October he defeated the rebels at

Miranganj, between Lucknow and Cawnpore, captured two guns, and inflicted on them considerable loss. Thus the rebels were driven out of the south-west of Oudh, the civil administration re-established by the aid of the police which had been organised, and the navigation of the Ganges (which had been closed since the outbreak of the mutiny) again reopened.

Brigadier Troup crosses into Oudh, 18th October 1858.

On the 18th of October, Brigadier Troup, carrying out his instructions, marched from Shajehanpore, and after two successful encounters with Bahadur Ali Khan, and having cleared the Rohilcund frontier of rebels, he crossed into Oudh. On the 8th of November he bombarded the Fort of Mittowlee, which was abandoned by the enemy during the night, and marching to the north-east he found the rebels in force at Mehunde, and decisively defeated them. Thus the north-western district was subdued. The operations for clearing the enemy out of the eastern or great Baiswarra district, between the Ganges and Goomtee, had also begun under the personal guidance of the Commander-in-Chief.

Defeats the rebels at Mehunde, 8th November 1858.

Operations in the Baiswarra district.

Sir Colin Campbell's first direct step in these operations was to send forward a column[1] under Brigadier Wetherall towards Rampore Kussiah, the

[1] Detail of Brigadier Wetherall's column:—

E Troop, Royal Horse Artillery.
A heavy field-battery R.A.
1st Punjab Cavalry.
The 79th Highlanders.
The Belooch Battalion.
A wing of the 9th Punjab Infantry.

stronghold of the powerful Khanpooria clan. On arriving there he was to co-operate with Hope Grant, who was to attack it from the north while he attacked it from the south. On the 3rd November 1858, Sir Hope encamped within six miles of the fort, and to his astonishment he heard some heavy firing in its direction. He states: "I arranged with Brigadier Wetherall, who was marching up with a column from Soraon, to attack it on 4th November." About 10 A.M. on the 3rd, Wetherall's force arrived in front of the fort and entrenchments of Rampore Kussiah, situated on the bend or loop of the river Sai. The fort, situated at the top or north-west of the loop, was surrounded by an elaborate system of entrenchment three miles in circumference, enclosing an area of 190 acres of dense impenetrable bamboo and thorn jungle, through which a number of covered ways, similar to parallels, afforded communication. On the outside a dense jungle grew close up to the works in every direction except on the north and north-west side. The mud walls, seven or eight feet high, were strongly built, and owing to the nature of the material, well able to resist heavy ordnance. A ditch, varying from 12 to 18 feet in depth and 8 to 20 feet in width, surrounded the works, and a very close and impenetrable abattis of cut thorn jungle was close upon the counterscarp of the ditch, following it in all its sinuosities.[1] The old fort inside the entrenchments was of the nature generally found

Brigadier Wetherall's force reaches Rampore Kussiah, 3rd November 1858.

[1] "Report upon the Fort and Entrenchments of Rampore Kussiah, Oudh," by P. H. Scratchley, Lieut. R.E.

in Oudh, rectangular, with circular bastions at the angles, connected by straight curtains, which also have bastions. Inside the fort was the stone-built residence of the chief of the tribe, also capable of defence. Rampore Kussiah was a formidable stronghold to assail with a small force, but Wetherall had received secret notice that "the left or last extremity of the advanced entrenchment rested on the jungle, and that the work had not been continued down to the river."[1] He determined to make his attack on that flank. He formed his force in position behind the village and fort of Agaiya, about fifteen hundred yards from the stronghold, "concealed from the view of the enemy by the village and the shape of the ground, which here rose to a gentle eminence, sloping down to the northwards in the direction of the river Sai."[2] The heavy battery, Royal Artillery, under the command of Major Le Mesurier, C.B., was posted on the crest of this eminence, and with it was placed the 4th Company Royal Engineers. The high ground was protected on its left by the fort of Agaiya, in which a company of the 79th Highlanders was placed. A company of the same regiment, under Captain Currie, was directed to skirmish in the broken ground in front of the battery, as sharpshooters, to keep down the fire

Wetherall determines to attack the fort.

Disposition of the troops.

[1] From Brigadier E. R. Wetherall, commanding Field Force in South Oudh, to the Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General, Lucknow Division, Camp Etayah, dated Camp Rampore Kussiah, 6th November 1858.

[2] Ibid.

of the enemy from the entrenchments. On the right was posted the right wing of the 9th Punjab Infantry, under Captain Thelwall, their commander, who was with H.M.'s 24th (the corps to which he then belonged) when they made their gallant and desperate charge at Chillianwallah. Thelwall was instructed to force his way through the jungle and endeavour to turn the left of the entrenchment. Bodies of cavalry were placed on each flank "to endeavour to discover any fords across the river, to prevent the passage of them by the enemy, and to complete the investment on this side." Vauban's maxim, that a perfect investment is the first requisite in a siege, had to be neglected. The strength of the force "did not allow any bodies of troops being detached across the river to invest the northern front."

Wetherall attacks the out-works.

No sooner had the disposition of the troops been completed when, Wetherall states, he received a "quill despatch" by a spy from Hope Grant offering his co-operation the following morning at day-light. "Anxious as I was for the assistance of the Major-General, and conscious that with the force under his command, under his able direction, the result of the action must be more satisfactory than it would be without that co-operation, yet as my force was then engaged with the enemy, and the artillery already suffering from the fire of the place, I considered that I could not withdraw without dishonour to Her Majesty's arms. I therefore resolved to continue the attack. My

intention was to carry the outworks, and there wait for the Major-General's arrival to attack the interior defences."[1]

Gallantry of Captain Thelwall and a wing of the 9th Punjab Infantry.

After the fire of the heavy battery had continued for some time, Wetherall directed the skirmishers to advance nearer to the works. "Captain Thelwall, with the wing of the regiment under his command, forced his way through the jungle, strongly opposed by the enemy, to within sixty yards of the entrenchment, where he was met with discharges of grape; finding that his position was becoming untenable, and that he must either advance or retreat, he, with the prompt and daring resolution of a true soldier, determined to storm the bastion from which the guns were playing upon him. A passage was found across the ditch near its extremity; the men with great gallantry dashed across, and entering by an embrasure, effected a lodgment; they captured two guns, one of which was immediately turned by them upon the enemy, who, advancing with 1500 men, endeavoured to retake the bastion. Captain Thelwall, though opposed to fearful odds and exposed to a crushing fire from the works on the north bank of the river, losing men and officers fast, still held his ground until the supports sent to his assistance came up. They consisted of two companies 79th Highlanders, under Captain Miller, and four companies of the 1st Belooch Battalion,

[1] From Brigadier E. R. Wetherall, commanding Field Force in South Oudh, to the Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General, Lucknow Division, Camp Etayah, dated Camp Rampore Kussiah, 6th November 1858.

under Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar, C.B."[1] The latter had hardly entered the works when he was wounded,[2] and under the command of Thelwall the troops completed the capture of the outside works. The fight had lasted for some hours. It was near two o'clock, and the enemy, finding all their efforts to retake the outer works fruitless, abandoned the fort and the whole of their entrenchments, and passing out of the northern front, retreated in an easterly direction. About 2.30 P.M. Hope Grant received a letter from Wetherall, informing him that he had assaulted the place, and begging him to cut off the rebels. Hope Grant immediately ordered out the cavalry and four guns of the Horse Artillery, and made for Rampore Kussiah as fast as possible, but arrived too late to intercept the enemy. The taking of the fort and entrenchments was a gallant affair, but it was a mistake on the part of the commander. By not doing what the Commander-in-Chief had planned he allowed a large body of rebels to escape, and the result of the action was that they fell back with a loss of only 300 men, while the British loss was 78 killed and wounded. The Chief's anger was great when he heard of Wetherall's disregard of the instructions conveyed to him and the result.

Capture of the outer works.

The enemy abandon the fort.

[1] From Brigadier E. R. Wetherall, commanding Field Force in South Oudh, to the Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General, Lucknow Division, Camp Etayah, dated Camp Rampore Kussiah, 6th November 1858.

[2] "I much regret to say that Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar had hardly entered the works when he was struck by a ball in the left knee; he has since suffered amputation of the limb. I was thus deprived of the services of an old, gallant, and experienced officer at a most critical time."—Ibid.

Lord Clyde opens the winter campaign, 2nd November 1858.

On the 2nd of November 1858 Lord Clyde joined his camp, which was pitched alongside that of Brigadier Pinckney at the Biglah cantonment near Pertabghur, one mile short of the river Sai. Before leaving Allahabad, Lord Clyde had issued a proclamation announcing to the inhabitants that he was coming to "enforce the law." "In order to effect this without danger to life and property, resistance must cease on the part of the people. The most exact discipline will be preserved in the camps and on the march, and where there is no resistance, houses and crops will be spared, and no plundering allowed in the towns and villages. But wherever there is resistance, or even a single shot fired against the troops, the inhabitants must expect to incur the fate they have brought on themselves. Their houses will be plundered and their villages burned. This proclamation includes all ranks of the people, from the talookdars to the poorest ryots. The Commander-in-Chief invites all the well disposed to remain in their towns and villages, where they will be sure of his protection against all violence."

Issues a proclamation.

Sends a letter to the Rajah of Amethee.

Lord Clyde's first step towards pacification was to send a letter to the Rajah of Amethee, one of the most powerful and influential of the old feudal barons of Oudh, whose great stronghold was thirty miles from the British camp, summoning him to surrender. A copy of the Queen's Proclamation was also forwarded to him, and he was informed that "It was the earnest desire of the Commander-in-Chief to save the further effusion of blood, and to give the greatest effect possible to the gracious

intentions of the Queen, who had promised mercy and forgiveness to all men except those stained with the blackest crimes." He was also informed that if he did not give substantial proof of his allegiance by the 6th of November, a hostile advance would be made against his stronghold at Amethee. As no satisfactory answer was received from him, the siege train, on the 7th November, proceeded towards Amethee, and on the following morning the Headquarters Column,[1] leaving a detachment to hold Pertabghur, crossed the Sai, and after a march of about eleven miles encamped beyond Loolee, which had been held by a detachment. The following morning the column again started, "and moved with considerable caution through a magnificent country, on which we left our marks only too effectually, inasmuch as, the roads being very bad and very narrow, the force was obliged to take a right line over the cornfields, which were effectually pounded into mud by the passage and ravages of the camp-followers, elephants, cavalry and infantry." After having tramped over rough fields for fourteen miles, the troops, thoroughly tired, approached a small Hindu temple with a grove of trees and halted. The spies and scouts told them that they were within three miles of Amethee. No sooner had the tents been pitched when a sound of firing was heard in front.

Advance on Amethee, 7th November 1858.

[1] Brigadier Pinckney's, or the Headquarters Column, consisted of a company of Royal Engineers, the Delhi Pioneers, a light field battery Royal Artillery, a heavy battery Bengal Artillery, one squadron Carabineers, one regiment Oudh Police Cavalry, one squadron 6th Madras Cavalry, 250 sabres (Pathan Horse), Wing 5th Fusiliers, the 54th Foot, the 1st Sikh Infantry, and a foot regiment of Oudh Police Infantry.

The camp-followers rushed about, shouting "The enemy." The men seized their arms; the horses were quickly saddled; the twenty thousand rebels who were said to be in the fort, they believed, were coming to give them battle. "But our expectation of an action was soon dissipated by the appearance of Sir Hope Grant and his aide-de-camp,[1] who dashed into the camp, followed by a few troopers, and told us that they had been fired upon from the fort as they approached to reconnoitre it." Soon after, Wetherall opened communications with the Chief. He and Hope Grant, acting according to instructions, had simultaneously with the advance of the Headquarters Column invested the stronghold on the north and south sides, and were encamped about three miles respectively from the Commander-in-Chief's column. The Rajah saw from the ramparts of his fort the white tents of the three columns. He had been prettily trapped; resistance was hopeless, and he must discover a way of escape. He sent an envoy to the Chief's camp, who expressed his deep regret for the firing. The sepoys had done it of their own accord. The Rajah would come into the camp if he were able; he would surrender all his guns and bring in all his followers, but he had no power over any of his troops except his own infantry. Lord Clyde refused to hold any communication with the Vakeel. He gave the Rajah the alternative of surrendering his fort, his

Investment of Amethee.

[1] Viscount Wolseley writes: "Sir Hope started with a squadron of native cavalry as an escort, taking me to show him the way."—"The Story of a Soldier's Life," vol. i. p. 385.

person, his troops and their arms, or bombardment on the morrow. That night the wily Chief stole out of his fort and appeared in camp the following day. He thus secured the safety of his person and his property.

"November 11. 'What's the news?' 'Don't you know? A Sikh has just come in to say that the rascals have bolted and that there is not a soul in the place.'" A party was sent to take possession of the stronghold, which was in many respects similar to Rampore Kussiah. The works were three or four miles in circumference, with a mass of jungle inside and out, and a stream running through them. When the citadel was entered, it was found to contain only about three thousand matchlock men, the Rajah's own retainers, and a few old brass howitzers and little mortars, instead of the thirty which he was known to possess and was bound to surrender. Soon after the sappers had entered the fort, the Commander-in-Chief rode into it, accompanied by a few of his staff and the Rajah in attendance. "The latter was pale with affright, for his Excellency, more irritated than I have ever seen him, and conscious of the trick which had been played on him, was denouncing the Rajah's conduct in terms which perhaps the latter would not have minded much had they not been accompanied by threats of unmistakable vigour. Major Metcalfe, in the most fluent Hindostanee, translated the vigorous language of the British General to the Rajpoot, who declared he did not know what guns were in the place, and that he gave up all he had, timing the first state-

Occupation of Amethee.

ured nearly eight miles. Within the enclosure were four strongholds, the intervening space between them being covered with a dense jungle of thorns, here and there pierced by a narrow footpath. The principal stronghold was Beni Mahdoo's famous citadel. Lord Clyde in summoning him to surrender informed him that his claims to retain possession of his estates would be considered. The same evening the Commander-in-Chief received his answer. The proud Rajpoot chief replied that he could not surrender his person, because that belonged to his sovereign whose cause he was bound to defend, but he would abandon his fort, for that was his own. He prayed that his son might be permitted to retain his estates. About 2 A.M., when the moon had gone down, Beni Mahdoo moved off in the dark with all his troops, about ten thousand in number, guns, treasure, and baggage, and, making a wide circuit towards the west in order to avoid Hope Grant's right flank pickets, moved towards the jungle, three miles north-west of Roy Bareilly. Brigadier Evelegh's orders had reached him too late. In the morning, when the entrenched camp and fort were entered, they were found to be empty. "Not a soul was left except a few feeble old men, priests, dirty fakeers, and a must elephant with some gun bullocks."

Escape of Beni Mahdoo.

After Beni Mahdoo had evacuated Shunkerpore, the force which had been concentrated for the reduction of that stronghold was dispersed. Colonel Taylor, 79th Highlanders, who had been appointed to succeed Brigadier Wetherall in the command of

The force at Shunkerpore dispersed.

Distribution of the column.

the brigade, was sent to Fyzabad, with orders to cross the Gogra at that point. Sir Hope Grant was ordered to march his force in a direct line to the Goomtee. "Leaving his force[1] under Brigadier Horsford, Rifle Brigade, to reduce the country stretching from Sultanpore to Lucknow, he was to proceed with the Headquarters Hodson's Horse to Fyzabad to take charge of the first trans-Gogra movement. He was desired to assume command of the troops in the Gorruckpore district under Brigadier Rowcroft,[2] and to combine them with the troops at Fyzabad for the purpose of commencing the clearance of the trans-Gogra district, arrangements being at the same time made to support the movements from Lucknow and the various posts held between that city and Fyzabad." Brigadier Evelegh received instructions to follow Beni Mahdoo and not to lose sight of him for a moment—"easy to give but difficult to follow."

[1] Detail of force under Sir H. Grant:—
F Troop Royal Horse Artillery.
Heavy Field Battery Royal Artillery.
C Company Madras Sappers and Miners.
7th (Queen's Own) Hussars.
Headquarters 1st and 2nd Regiment Hodson's Horse.
2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade.
1st Madras European Fusiliers.
5th Punjab Rifles.

[2] Detail of troops under Brigadier Rowcroft:—
The "Pearl's" Naval Brigade.
4 guns No. 5 Madras Field Battery.
Detachment Royal Artillery and two 9-pounders.
The Royal Yeomanry Cavalry.
13th (Prince Albert's Own) Light Infantry.
Headquarters 27th Madras Native Infantry Regiment of Ferozepore.

On the evening of the 18th November, Lord Clyde marched for Roy Bareilly with the Head-quarter Column[1] in order to effect a junction with Evelegh. All night and the following day the troops moved on, and darkness had begun to fall before they reached the neighbourhood of Roy Bareilly, "a famous old city noted for its former magnificence in the palmy days of Mahomedan rule." That night Lord Clyde received a letter from Evelegh, stating that he had met (on the 17th) a large body of the rebels, defeated them and captured three guns, but he was not able to check their escape westwards. The following day the column halted. "Site of new cantonments to be decided on: Roy Bareilly to be examined: Beni Mahdoo to be discovered. We have 'certain' intelligence that he is at all points of the compass at exactly the same hour of the same day, and we have not thirty-one columns to spare to verify these reports." In the hope of hemming in the elusive Beni, Lord Clyde determined to continue his march north-westwards, parallel to the Ganges up to Buchraon, twenty-two miles distant on the Lucknow road. About 1 A.M., November 20th, Lord Clyde, leaving a force to hold Roy Bareilly, ordered the command to march. As the troops defiled through the narrow streets of the town, they became for a time hopelessly jammed. "It

Lord Clyde marches for Roy Bareilly, 18th November 1858.

He leaves Bareilly.

[1] It was now commanded by Colonel Jones, 6th Dragoon Guards, Brigadier Pinckney having been appointed to command a newly established military district, consisting of Sultanpore, Amethee, and Pertabghur.

was bright moonlight, and the stillness of the deserted streets of this wondrous old town, with its high decaying houses and battlemented walls and square keeps, rising up like baronial mansions at the angles of the tortuous highways in the waste of uninhabited places, was rendered all the more striking by the confusion which prevailed in the narrow stream-like procession of guns, elephants, horses, and men, now suddenly dammed up in front. Some few trembling inhabitants sat on the house-tops watching us in fear and wonder." Leaving the town, the column marched during all the night, and it was noon ere it encamped at Buchraon. Here Lord Clyde heard from Evelegh that Beni Mahdoo was at Doun-de-khara, a stronghold on the Ganges, some twenty-eight miles south of Cawnpore. From the disposition of his forces it was evident that he intended to offer battle. Evelegh was watching him at a distance of six miles. Lord Clyde determined to join Evelegh. Before the sun had risen, the column, turning to the left, was on its way to reinforce him. About eight o'clock, after a march of nine miles, the river Sai was reached, and the troops, camp-followers, guns, baggage, and elephants began to cross it at the various fords. "When the first body of infantry reached the river bank, the men took off their shoes and stockings and trousers to wade across the stream. A soldier cried out: 'What are you stopping for there?' A comrade replied: 'Don't you see, I am taking off my breeches to cross the river?'

Lord Clyde hears that Beni Mahdoo is at Doun-de-khara.

He determines to reinforce Evelegh.

'Bedad,' exclaimed the other, 'I knew the General would never stop till he had made Highlanders of us all.'"[1]

The river was only fifty yards broad, but horses, elephants, and guns sank in the treacherous sandy bed, and it was six hours before the column proceeded. It was late in the evening when the troops encamped for the night. At dawn they struck direct for Doun-de-khara, and did not halt till they effected their junction with Evelegh. On the morning of the 24th of November, the force, divided in two columns, one under the command of Brigadier Evelegh, the other under Colonel Jones, advanced upon the field of action. On arriving near Bidhoura, Lord Clyde ordered the troops to halt whilst he rode to the top of a mound to reconnoitre. He observed the enemy drawn up in line of battle, his right flank resting on the village of Buksur and his left on Doun-de-khara. In the rear ran the Ganges, to the front stretched a jungle of thorny scrub. The enemy observing the reconnoitring party, opened fire with musketry, and the bullets whistled by them. "Never is Lord Clyde so courteous or so good-humoured as when he is under fire; and the grave concentrated manner in which he examines a position through his binoculars, the rapidity of his *coup-d'œil*, and the promptness of his action as soon as he has surveyed his ground are very remarkable. A puff of smoke rose above a mosque, and a cannon-shot passing to our left plunged into the rear of the Belooch bat-

Lord Clyde effects a junction with Evelegh.

Action at Doun-de-khara.

[1] "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, vol. ii. p. 324.

talion." Rapidly a line of advance was formed. Evelegh's body of infantry on the right, Jones on the left, Lord Clyde at the head of them; cavalry on the flanks, guns between each body of infantry and the cavalry, and a long line of skirmishers preceding the whole force. The guns soon opened fire, and the skirmishers springing into the jungle drove out the rebels. As soon as the enemy saw their skirmishers flying out of the scrub they gave way in panic and fled up and down the river bank. The cavalry were let loose and many rebels were slain. The majority, however, escaped, including Beni Mahdoo, who made towards the north. Two movable columns respectively under Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, Royal Artillery, and Lieutenant-Colonel Carmichael, Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, were quickly sent after him, "Lieutenant-Colonel Carmichael taking up the running as it were from Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon." "While Lieutenant-Colonel Carmichael was in pursuit, Brigadier Horsford intercepted Beni Mahdoo, who, flying in confusion, was driven with his followers across the Goomtee by Brigadier Horsford's Cavalry and Horse Artillery under Lieutenant-Colonel Sir William Russell, Bart., 7th Hussars." Beni Mahdoo, closely pursued by Carmichael, crossed the Gogra. The vast Baiswarra district having been cleared of rebels, Lord Clyde with the Head-quarter Column marched towards Lucknow. On the 28th of November, the Commander-in-Chief and a few of his staff rode in full gallop to the city. Two days later Brigadier Evelegh with a

The Baiswarra district cleared of rebels.

Lord Clyde with the Head-quarter Column returns to Lucknow,

column was detached from Lucknow to reduce the fort of Oomeriah, about twenty miles north-east of the capital. "On the 2nd December Brigadier Evelegh occupied the fort of Oomeriah after a sharp resistance. He remained there three days engaged in levelling it to the ground. This fort, owing to its position, had hitherto barred the north-west road from Lucknow, and had been for a long time a source of much inconvenience."[1]

28th November 1858.

The same day Brigadier Troup on the north, marching down from Mehndee, had effected a junction at Biswah with Barker, who had advanced northwards from Sundeela, clearing the country right and left. Prince Feroze Shah, finding that he was being hemmed in near Biswah, doubled back with about two thousand followers. Anticipating some movement of the kind, Lord Clyde sent about two thousand of his cavalry to the aid of Troup and Barker. But Feroze Shah, guided by the information which the peasantry furnished him, eluded the cavalry sent to intercept him and crossed the Ganges. His presence created great excitement in the Doab, and every bandit and rebel watched with reviving hopes his march towards Etawah. His first object was to attack the forts held by two chiefs who had maintained their fidelity to the British power. On the morning of the 8th of December, Mr Hume, the magistrate of Etawah, accompanied by Lieutenant Forbes and Captain Doyle, with about four hundred raw

Feroze Shah leaves Oudh and crosses the Ganges.

Excitement in the Doab.

[1] To his Excellency the Viscount Canning, Viceroy and Governor-General. Headquarters Camp on the Raptee, 7th January 1859.

The relief of Hurchundpore.

levies and four native guns, marched to the relief of Hurchundpore, one of the forts. About a mile from the citadel they came across the enemy's outlying pickets and drove them in. They were soon confronted by a large number of cavalry. The four native guns unlimbered and opened fire, and Captain Doyle, leading 150 sowars, charged the mass. His horse was shot and he was cut to pieces. The rebels then attacked the guns, and being repulsed, left the field. In the meantime, Brigadier Percy Herbert, with a small force, had marched from Cawnpore, and pursuing the rebels, he encountered them on the banks of the Jumna. Their loss was considerable, and 400 horses and 50 camels, with a quantity of arms and baggage, were captured. The remainder crossed the river, and Percy Herbert, owing to the lack of cavalry, could not continue the pursuit.

Death of Captain Doyle.

Brigadier Percy Herbert pursues Feroze Shah.

Brigadier Horsford, having cleared the right bank of the Goomtee, marched through Lucknow on the 4th of December and encamped on the left bank of the Goomtee. Another brigade, formed under Brigadier Purnell at Nawabgunge Barabunkee, was joined to him.[1] By the end of November the first of Lord Clyde's operations had been accomplished. The rebels had been driven beyond the Gogra. The second part now remained to be done,—driving them beyond the Raptee upon the frontier of Nepaul. Sir Hope

[1] To his Excellency the Viscount Canning, Viceroy and Governor-General. Headquarters Camp on the Raptee, 7th January 1859.

Grant had "in his usual brilliant manner"[1] been preparing the way for the campaign in the trans-Gogra district. He had made his way to Fyzabad where he found Colonel Taylor's force. "Lothian Nicholson was busy constructing a bridge over the Gogra with the sappers of the Fyzabad garrison, regardless of the fire of the enemy who were in force the other side of the river." On the night of the 24th, Major Gordon with his Sikhs crossed it in boats. They were to make a simultaneous attack on the enemy's flank, while the main body attacked in front. Before there was a gleam of light in the sky, the main body, under the immediate command of Hope Grant, crossed the stream by the bridge, and at the break of dawn the heavy guns opened. "Gordon's Sikhs advanced, and we stormed the enemy's position, who, unable to withstand this double attack, retired, taking with them all their guns but one."[2] After a pursuit of twenty-four miles they returned to camp which had been brought across the Gogra. Here Hope Grant remained awaiting the movements of the Commander-in-Chief, and occupied his time in taking possession of Bunkussia and other forts belonging to the Gonda Rajah and different chiefs.

Hope Grant reaches Fyzabad.

Passage of the Gogra.

On the 5th of December Lord Clyde left Lucknow and started with a strong column under

Lord Clyde starts for

[1] To his Excellency the Viscount Canning, Viceroy and Governor-General. Headquarters Camp on the Raptee, 7th January 1859.

[2] "Life of General Sir Hope Grant," by Colonel Henry Knollys, vol. ii. p. 28.

Fyzabad, 5th December 1858.

Brigadier Horsford[1] for Fyzabad. On reaching Nawabgunge Barabunkee, he was joined by Purnell's Brigade.[2] That night the spies brought news that Beni Mahdoo was encamped on the other side of the Gogra, close to its passage at Byram Ghaut, about twenty miles away. His followers held the strong fort of Bittowlee or Mittowlee, about two miles above the junction of the Gogra and Chiraka rivers, and threatened to recross the river southwards. Lord Clyde determined to turn off to Byram Ghaut. At dawn the troops were again in motion, and after marching nine miles they were halted and rested. They had just finished breakfast when the spies arrived and stated that the rebels were still crossing the river. "Lord Clyde, tucking his sword under his arm, said, 'Now, gentlemen, we are in for a gallop.'" Taking with him the cavalry and four horse

News of Beni Mahdoo.

Lord Clyde marches to Byram Ghaut.

[1] Detail of force under Brigadier Horsford :—

F Troop Royal Horse Artillery.
Heavy Field Battery.
2 guns Light Field Battery.
H.M.'s 7th Hussars.
1 Squadron 6th Dragoon Guards.
1 Squadron Lahore Light Horse.
1 Squadron 6th Madras Cavalry.
1 Regiment Oudh Police Cavalry.
H.M.'s 20th Regiment.
2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade.
1 Wing H.M.'s 23rd Fusiliers.
The Belooch Battalion.
2 Regiments Oudh Police Infantry.

[2] Detail of Brigadier Purnell's Brigade :—

4 guns Light Field Battery.
1 Wing H.M.'s 23rd Fusiliers.
H.M.'s 90th Light Infantry.

artillery guns, on the waggons of which were placed a few of the Rifle Brigade, he proceeded at a rapid trot to the passage. On reaching a village near the river, they were told that the last rebel had crossed over that morning. When they arrived at the Gogra they found a broad and rapid river rolled between them and the enemy, and they saw the boats drawn up on the opposite shore. When the infantry brigade came up, the force encamped at the village of Gunespore, a mile from the river.

The rebels cross the Gogra.

On the 7th of December the Headquarter Column halted. Hope Grant had been ordered to advance up the left bank of the river Gogra to Secrora, about fifteen miles in the rear of the enemy's position. But as soon as they became aware of his movement they quickly disappeared and retreated northwards. Lord Clyde, leaving Brigadier Purnell with his brigade to collect boats and materials to bridge the Gogra, proceeded with the column to Fyzabad. The road to the ancient capital of Oudh ran through "a vast plain, green as the sea, covered with crops of young wheat, peas, vetches, grasses, sugar-cane, amid which are numerous islands, as it were, of mangoes, peepul, tamarind, and other trees." Through this fertile region the column pushed its rapid way, and reached Fyzabad on the 10th of December. Early the next day it crossed the Gogra, and thence proceeded in two marches to Secrora, followed by Colonel Christie, H.M.'s 80th Foot, with

Lord Clyde proceeds to Fyzabad.

Opening of the final campaign in Oudh.

Distribution of the columns.

a small force.[1] The final campaign in Oudh had opened. Hope Grant's troops had been already pushed forward one march on their way to Bulrampore, a small town with a fort about fifty miles due north of Fyzabad, and only a few miles south of the river Raptee. Rowcroft's force had crossed that river, and turning to the left, had invaded the Tulsepore territory and was marching on the fort of Tulsepore, which was reported to be held in considerable strength by Bala Rao. A strong post was formed at Simree to ward off the chance of the Brigadier's advance being turned to the eastward. Brigadier Purnell was desired to assist in the guard of the Gogra to the north-west, and Brigadier Troup was ordered to throw H.M.'s 60th Rifles, with two guns and a detachment of cavalry, across the Chiraka, and to extend the remainder of his force to the left. Thus "the forces on the Rohilcund frontier were put well on the alert, so that no resource might be left to the rebel forces but to surrender or to take to the hills of Nepaul." Brigadier Evelegh, who had been directed on Fyzabad, was ordered to take post at Gonda to form a reserve to the columns moving northwards, to settle the country, and level the forts.

On the 16th of December Sir Hope Grant arrived

[1] Detail of Colonel Christie's force:—

3rd Troop 1st Brigade Bengal Horse Artillery.
Heavy Field Battery Royal Artillery.
C Company Madras Sappers and Miners.
Headquarters and Wing H.M.'s 80th Foot.
Kumaon Battalion.
5th Punjab Rifles.
Detachment Hodson's Horse.

at Bulrampore. "The Rajah was a slight active little man, about thirty-five years old, modest and intelligent, an excellent sportsman, rode well, and during the first part of the mutiny had saved a number of our poor people who were fugitives from Sekrora."[1] On the 23rd of December Brigadier Rowcroft occupied Tulsepore, where he was joined by Hope Grant.

Tulsepore occupied.

While these events were in progress the Commander-in-Chief had also been busy. On the 15th of December he advanced with the Headquarters Column from Secrora against the ancient city of Baraitch, which was held by the Nana Sahib and the Begum of Oudh. It was hoped that here the rebels would make a final stand and that a decisive blow would be dealt to them. But on reaching Baraitch it was found that the town had been evacuated by the bulk of the enemy on the previous day. On the 17th of December Lord Clyde wrote to Lord Canning: "I arrived at Baraitch this morning, the advanced-guard of the Oudh Police Cavalry having come by surprise on a picket of rebels. The main body of the latter seem to be at Nanparah, which is about twenty miles off, the Begum being at a fort called Nichwa, which is a few *koss* to the N.W. of that place. It will be necessary for me to stop here a day or two because it is raining, and to give time to Sir Hope Grant, who arrived at Bulrampoor yesterday, in continuance of his movement of advance along the banks

Lord Clyde advances against Baraitch, 15th December 1858.

His letter to Lord Canning, 17th December 1858.

[1] "Life of General Sir Hope Grant," by Colonel Sir Henry Knollys, vol. ii. p. 31.

of the Raptee on Bhinga, which is also held by the rebels."[1] Two days later he again wrote: "I am still at Baraitch, having been detained by rain and the necessity for waiting for Sir Hope Grant's march to Bhinga. Had I pressed on before he had made his circuitous march of the Raptee, there would have been danger of considerable bodies of the rebels slipping round my rear into the country through which I have lately advanced. No time, however, is lost, as necessary leisure is afforded by Major Barrow to induce the chiefs and sepoys to lay down their arms without more fighting. He was most anxious for a halt on this account, putting military considerations aside."[2] On the 21st of December the Commander-in-Chief detached a force under Colonel Christie[3] to move close up the left bank of the Gogra in order to increase the pressure on the enemy. Leaving a strong but small force to hold Baraitch, Lord Clyde moved on the 23rd of December towards Nanparah, and after a march of eighteen miles along the edge of a great jungle, the column arrived at the hamlet of Intha, where it encamped. Heavy rain next

Letter to Lord Canning, 19th December 1858.

Lord Clyde moves towards Nanparah, 23rd December 1858.

[1] "Life of Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., vol. ii. p. 356.

[2] Ibid., pp. 356, 357.

[3] Detail under Colonel Christie:—

4 guns 3rd Troop 1st Brigade Royal Horse Artillery.
50 of the Carabineers.
Detachment Hodson's Horse.
Headquarters and Wing H.M.'s 80th Regiment.
2 Companies H.M.'s 20th Regiment.
5th Punjab Rifles.
Detachment Oudh Police Cavalry.
C Company Madras Sappers and Miners.

day prevented the saturated tents from being removed. On Christmas morning the whole camp turned out "to look at the Snowy Range, which is certainly the grandest object I have ever seen, as it appears from the plains of Oudh towering above the giant mountains of Nepaul." The old chief was anxious to continue his march, but the tents had not dried and he was reminded that it was Christmas Day, "so at last his lordship gave way and the great English festival was duly celebrated close to the Terai, as well as if we were in England." "The artillery sang their Christmas carols; the rifle band played its best, and there was rejoicing in the wide expanse of tents till ten o'clock came, and then the voices gradually died away, and lights went out by degrees till midnight came, and Christmas Day had passed in India." When dawn broke the column was again on its way to seek the enemy. "It was exceedingly raw and cold; a thick fog obscured the face of the country, but we could make out that it was still level and well cultivated, and the hoof and the cannon beat down rising crops of young corn." The spies said the enemy were at Nanparah and were fully determined to defend its strong fort. But on reaching the town, about noon, they found the sepoys had abandoned it, and they halted for rations to be served beneath its mud bastions. At one o'clock the column re-formed and moved on again. The rebels were said to be several miles ahead. But mile after mile was passed and no sign of the enemy. It was three o'clock, and the

Christmas Day in camp.

troops had tramped twenty miles before the rebels were discovered, drawn up for action in front of a village. Some hours of daylight still remained, and after a few minutes reconnoitring Lord Clyde ordered the line of battle to be formed.[1] Four guns Royal Horse Artillery, with the 7th Hussars on their left, and a squadron of the 6th Madras Cavalry on their right, were placed in advance, and two companies of Rifles and two of the Belooch battalions supported the guns. On its left rear were the 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade on the right, two guns Royal Horse Artillery, Belooch Battalion, heavy field battery, eight companies H.M.'s 20th Regiment, and a squadron of Carabineers.

Action at Burordiah.

Taking with him the guns and cavalry of the advance-guard, Lord Clyde went forward at a canter. The enemy opened fire with chain shot and shells, but the distance was too great for them to inflict any injury. When the Commander-in-Chief got within range of their guns, he suddenly took ground to the right and attacked them on their extreme left. The enemy seeing their flank

[1] Detail of troops at Army Headquarters :—
F Troop Royal Horse Artillery.
Half a Heavy Field Battery Royal Artillery.
23rd Company Royal Engineers.
Headquarters and 150 sabres Carabineers.
7th (Queen's Own) Hussars.
Squadron 6th Madras Light Cavalry.
Headquarters and eight companies H.M.'s 20th Regiment.
2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade.
1st Belooch Battalion.
Detachment Oudh Police joined, on the evening of that day, by the 1st Punjab Cavalry.

turned, fled precipitately across the plain. Lord Clyde galloped at full speed to tell the officer in command of the Horse Artillery the proper direction for pursuit. He got into some broken ground; his horse put its foot into a hole, fell, and threw him with great force. "He sat up in a moment; his face was bleeding; he tried to move his right arm; it was powerless. His shoulder was dislocated." The pursuit was continued until nightfall put an end to the chase. On returning to camp, the troops, wearied outright with their march of twenty miles, followed by an attack on the enemy, found that not a tent had been pitched and the baggage had not arrived. It was cold, and soon bonfires lit the darkness of the night. At one of them, surrounded by Beloochees, Lord Clyde sat, with his arm in a sling, on a small bedstead. "Once, as he rose up to give some orders for the disposition of the troops, a tired Beloochee flung himself full-length on the crazy bedstead, and was jerked off in a moment by one of his comrades. 'Don't you see, you fool, that you are on the Lord Sahib's charpoy?' Lord Clyde interposed, 'Let him lie there; don't interfere with his rest,'" and took his seat on a billet of wood.[1] Accident to Lord Clyde.

The next day at 10 o'clock the force marched on the fort at Musjidiah, situated about six miles distant in a north-westerly direction. After passing through two dense jungles, it debouched soon Head-quarter marches on Musjidiah.

[1] "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, vol. ii. p. 370.

after noon on a plain, and the fort was before them. "All that we could see was a dun-coloured parapet of mud with three embrasured bastions, in the front of a dense forest which extended interminably on the flanks and hid the rest of the work." It was afterwards reported by the chief engineer "to be one of the strongest as respects artificial defences

Capture of the fort of Musjidiah.

that he had seen in India." But "this place was taken after three hours of vertical fire from two mortars, and a cannonade from an 18-pounder and an 8-inch howitzer; the infantry being carefully laid out to command the enemy's embrasures and parapets." The next day the force halted. On

Lord Clyde returns to Nanparah, 29th December 1858.

the 29th, Lord Clyde, leaving some troops to destroy the fort, moved south, and returned to Nanparah by a different route. The next forenoon the scouts brought the news that the Nana Sahib, Beni Mahdoo, and some thousands of sepoys had collected near Bankee on the Raptee, about twenty miles north of Nanparah. Lord Clyde resolved to surprise them by a night march. "The Chief of the Staff, the Special Commissioner, the Quartermaster-General, the Adjutant-General, all were dubious of the chance of success. But Lord Clyde was determined to try."[1] Orders were issued for the troops to parade without bugle sound at 8 P.M. The camp was left standing, and placed in charge of a wing of the 20th Regiment. About 150 elephants were collected and one-half of the infantry were placed in rotation on them. At 8.30

[1] "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, vol. ii. p. 383.

the column[1] set forth. The night was pitch dark. "Not a light was to be seen save the glare of the watch-fires; but soon there appeared before us, like a light in some wintry sea, one steady flame." A lantern had been fastened to a howdah on the back of an elephant, which walked at the head of the column and followed the guides. After a march of fifteen miles in the dark, through cultivated fields and over swampy grass, the column halted. Officers and men threw themselves on the ground and, wrapped in their greatcoats, slept. As a faint pink light began to spread over the eastern sky they again went forward, and after marching two and a half miles they saw a long belt of jungle stretching in front of the Raptee, and beyond the sparkling waters the mighty bulk of the Himalayas. About three-quarters of a mile in advance of the jungle the enemy were posted. A long deep swamp lay in their front, which was covered on each flank by a village.

Action near Bankee on the Raptee, 31st December 1858.

Lord Clyde, who had been compelled to be carried in a dooly, mounted an elephant, and, attended by Mansfield, reconnoitred their position. The action was not long delayed. The troop of Horse Artillery in the centre, flanked on the right by a squadron of the Carabineers and a squadron of the 1st Punjab

[1] Detail of troops employed on the 31st December:—
H Troop, Royal Horse Artillery.
Headquarters and squadron Carabineers.
7th Hussars.
Headquarters and 2nd Squadron Punjab Cavalry.
2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade.
B Companies, 20th Foot.
Headquarters and a wing 1st Belooch Battalion.

Cavalry, and on the left by the 7th Hussars and another squadron of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, moved rapidly to the front. The rebels fired a few scattered shots as they advanced, and then they turned and made for the jungle in their rear. Two guns, with the 7th Hussars and a squadron of the Punjab Cavalry, going round the swamp, advanced rapidly towards their right, while four guns, a squadron of Carabineers, and a squadron of the 1st Punjab Cavalry followed the bulk of their infantry, who were making for the wood in rear of their left. But they could not overtake the flying foe, who reached the jungle, abandoning two of their guns. Buried in the thicket, they rallied, and opened a well-directed fire on their pursuers. The artillery and cavalry could not dash into the forest. In vain did the guns try to search out the jungle and silence the enemy's fire. It grew warmer, and they retired by alternate guns, firing as they went back, covered by the cavalry. Brief was the retrograde movement. The guns and cavalry on the right joined them, and the Rifles came up. Three companies were extended under the command of Major Warren, Captain Singer, and Lieutenant Lane.[1] Colonel Hill, commander of the battalion, accompanied and directed them. They pushed forward through the wild undergrowth, and the centre company, under Lane, came across a cart-track, and saw in the distance the rebels endeavouring to withdraw the gun. They doubled along the track, but

The rebels make for the jungle.

They rally and open a well-directed fire.

Chase through the jungle.

[1] "The History of the Rifle Brigade," by Sir William C. Hope, Bart., p. 414.

they could not overtake it. After a chase of a mile, Hill, Lane, and a colour-sergeant, with only twenty men, arrived at the edge of the jungle. They were after some time joined by the other two companies, who had driven the enemy's skirmishers from cover to cover. The rest of the battalion, with the Horse Artillery and the cavalry, made their way slowly through the tangled jungle, and emerging on a wide plain, saw on some rising ground about eight hundred yards in front of them the enemy's line of battle. A deep nullah filled with water protected their front, and a wood on the right of the rising ground sheltered a large body. The Rifles, with skirmishers thrown out, advanced briskly towards the wood. The Horse Artillery and cavalry crossed the nullah by a ford lower down, but the passage was not easy, and two of the guns had to be left behind. On ascending the rising ground they saw the enemy's cavalry and infantry moving slowly along the edge of the jungle. They were making for the Raptee. The 7th Hussars and a squadron of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, who were the first to ride up, charged down at once on the rebels moving to the right. When the fourth squadron reached the summit, they were directed towards the main body on the edge of the jungle, and orders were sent to the three squadrons to support them. At once they wheeled round and went at full gallop along the tortuous banks of the Raptee. Six guns from the opposite side opened fire. On they went, heedless of the shot which ploughed up the ground between them. Eight hundred yards in advance

The enemy's line of battle.

A gallant charge along the banks of the Raptee.

Stisted led the first squadron. The enemy, headed by the Rifles, rushed in panic for the river. Their cavalry galloped down the low bank, closely pursued by the Hussars, and many were sabred as they crossed the beds of sand. They plunged headlong into the river, and after them dashed the Hussars. Many were slain in the merciless tussle in the ford; many were drowned in the perilous whirlpools of the mountain stream. Major Herne, a fine old veteran, who led the left wing of the 7th Hussars, was one of those who were swept away by the rapid Raptee, and Captain Stisted, who led the first squadron, was being carried down the stream, when Fraser (who had been wounded in a previous engagement) plunged in and with much difficulty brought him to the bank. The cavalry, who had been thirty hours in the saddle, having driven the rebels beyond the Raptee, marched again through the jungle, and late in the evening joined the camp, which had come up from Nanparah.

Gallant conduct of Captain Charles Fraser.

Rebels driven beyond the Raptee.

End of the campaign, 1st January 1859.

The next day it was reported that all the bodies of rebels who had been retreating before Lord Clyde from the day of his arrival at Byram Ghaut had either surrendered or passed the Nepaul frontier.[1] The Nana and the Begum were among those who fled into Nepaul, and among the ten minor chiefs who surrendered under the amnesty were Mhendee Hussein and the Nawab of Furruckabad. Colonel Christie, who had a successful skirmish on the 23rd

[1] To his Excellency the Viscount Canning, Viceroy and Governor-General. Headquarters Camp on the Raptee, 7th January 1859.

December, and took two guns in pursuit, rejoined the Chief's camp on the 3rd of January. Leaving a strong brigade to watch the fugitives, the Commander-in-Chief returned to Lucknow on the 9th January 1859.

Lord Clyde's strategy.

Thus the long and stern contest for supremacy in Oudh was brought to an end. During the brief winter campaign some hundreds of forts were destroyed, about one hundred and fifty guns captured, and 150,000 armed men, of whom at least 35,000 were disciplined soldiers, were subdued. The success of the operations was due to the old Chief's capacity for combination and his accuracy and energy of execution. He established a sound system of communication, he had no isolated column, and he insisted on every commander obeying his orders to the letter. But his plan of operations cannot be better described than in his own words: "The march of each column, the commencement of each attack, was guided from headquarters, and watched with the utmost care and accuracy. The different commanders of the various columns were apparently directing independent campaigns; but in point of fact they all depended the one on the other, and their movements were respectively ordered and arranged accordingly. Although from the nature of the contest there were no great battles, the number of small affairs was very considerable; and the endeavour was made successfully so to combine the various columns that on no occasion did it happen that any commander was under the neces-

sity of fighting against odds which he could not easily overcome. I myself moved, as occasion seemed to require, from one column to another, and at times was rapidly marching with a very slender escort, while the public gave me credit for being immediately at the head of a large force on which every sort of authority might draw without reserve."[1]

[1] Memorandum on the War in India since the Fall of Lucknow, 26th July 1859. ("Life of Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., vol. ii. pp. 371, 372.)

CHAPTER XVIII.

Rajpootana.

THE rebels under Tantia Topee and the Rao Sahib, after their decisive defeat at Jowra Alipore by General Napier, entered the inland province of Rajpootana at the point where its south-eastward boundary touches the territory of Scindia. In the days of old the vast and varied region, from the frontier of Sind in the west to the fort of Agra on the east, and from the sandy tracts of Sutlej on the north to the Vindhya range separating it from the Deccan or "South," was known by the collective and classical denomination, Rajas-than, "the abode of the princes." Tod, in his "Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han"—a classic alike in the vastness of its scope and in the completeness of its execution—writes: "In the familiar dialect of these countries it is termed *Rajwarra*, by the more refined *Raet'hana*, corrupted to *Rajpootana*, the common designation among the British to denote the Rajput principalities." The word Rajpootana ("the country of the Rajpoots") signifies in the nomenclature of the Indian Empire, the immense circular territory which stretches from the frontier of Sind to the fort of Agra, and from the Punjab to the central region of India. The Vindhya range is no longer its southern boundary, but an irregular zigzag line which separates Rajpootana from a number of Native

States in Central India and the Bombay Presidency, and marks off generally the northern extension of that great belt of territory subject mediately or immediately to the Mahratta powers, Scindia, Holkar, and the Gaekwar. Within the circumference of the great territorial circle there are eighteen Native States and two chiefships, and in the centre lies the small British district of Ajmeer-Merwara. These states, with the exception of the two States of Bhurtpore and Dholpore, whose rulers are Jats,[1] and the Muhammadan principality of Tonk, are Rajpoot states founded by the pure-blooded Rajpoot clans. Under their own chieftains the Rajpoots, sons of chiefs,[2] established important dynasties in Northern India which were cast down and swept away by the Mussulman irruptions. When the dominant families of a clan lost their dominion in the fertile regions of the north-west, they went off westward and carved out another dominion. Some moved beyond the Aravelli mountain range (which intersects Rajpootana almost from end to end in a line running nearly north-east and south-west) and, protected by the desert, established states in a poor and barren region: some founded dominions in the wide vales and fertile tableland south-east of the Aravellis, and were sheltered from the invader by extensive hill ranges and long stretches of rocky wold and woodland. Thus Rajpootana was parted

Rise of the Rajpoot States.

[1] Jats—A race of sturdy freebooters who made a bid for power in the Central Ganges-Jumna Duab, on the decline of the Moghul Empire. After the rout of the Mahrattas at Panipat they seized Agra.

[2] Rajpoot is an abbreviation, it is stated, of the Sanscrit Raja-putra, the king's son.

out among the clans, and there arose the states which are now ruled by the chief of the dominant clan. For some centuries the Rajpoot warriors maintained a long and gallant struggle against the Delhi Emperors; but they had at last to yield to the disciplined hosts of Delhi, and from the reign of the great Akbar, at the end of the sixteenth century, they may be regarded as feudatories of the Moghul Empire. They were under the obligations of allegiance, tribute, and military service to the Emperor. The gallant Rajpoot clans, by the wise policy of Akbar and his successor Jehangir, became the strongest supporters of the Moghul Empire, but were hopelessly alienated by the fanatical persecutions of Aurangzeb. He made Ajmeer his headquarters during the wars with the States of Meywar and Marwar, brought about by his own bigotry. The Rajpoots in their mountain fastnesses defied for many a month and many a year the armies of the Moghuls. After the death of Aurangzeb there began the expiring convulsion of the overgrown empire. The grip of the central power relaxed, and the Mahratta freebooter increased the flood of anarchy that swept over the continent. It found its way into Rajpootana, and in a quarrel for chieftainship one of the claimants called in the Mahrattas, and about 1756, the year before the battle of Plassey, the fort and district of Ajmeer were surrendered in full sovereignty to them. For sixty-two years the Mahrattas remained masters of the key of Rajpootana. The Rajpoot chiefs were too weak and divided by intestine feuds to be able to

The Rajpoot chiefs become feudatories of the Moghul Empire.

The Mahrattas acquire Ajmeer.

oppose the extortions and indignities of the Mahratta predatory rulers, and when the power of the Mahratta confederacy decayed, Rajpootana was harassed by the Pindaree freebooters and the Afghan mercenaries of Ameer Khan. The great principalities were desolated, and the ancient group of chieftainships of Rajpootana were brought to the verge of extinction when the Power to whom the sovereignty of India had passed crushed the lawless banditti, extinguished the predatory system, compelled Ameer Khan to disband his mercenary army (some 30,000 in number), and stripped Scindia and Holkar of the power of mercilessly pillaging the land. In 1818 Scindia gave up the district of Ajmeer to the British Government, and treaties were made with the States in Rajpootana which, while leaving them freedom in internal administration, made their political and external relations subject to the paramount power. Forty-nine years passed, and, when the tide of mutiny and insurrection swept along the frontier of Rajpootana, the chiefs had not forgotten the time when the Mahrattas pillaged the land, ransomed cities, and annexed fertile provinces. They had no desire to revive the power of the great Mahratta confederacy.

Ajmeer ceded to the British Government, 1818.

When the mutiny of the Bengal Army began at Meerut (May 1857) there was not a single European soldier in Rajpootana. At Ajmeer a ruined palace of the Emperor Akbar had been converted into an arsenal and a powder magazine. They were well stored with the munitions of war, and there was a full treasury. Fifteen miles from Ajmeer was the

Ajmeer and Nusseerabad, May 1857.

extensive cantonment of Nusseerabad. In May 1857 the troops stationed there were the 1st Bombay Lancers, the 15th and 30th Bengal Native Infantry, and the 2nd Company of the 7th Battalion of Bengal Artillery. On the 19th of May the Agent to the Governor-General (Brigadier-General Lawrence), who was spending the summer at Mount Abu, received the terrible news of the mutiny of the troops at Meerut and Delhi.

News of the mutiny at Meerut and Delhi, 19th May 1857.

George St Patrick Lawrence.

George St Patrick Lawrence was the brother of Henry and John, who have built themselves an enduring name in the annals of the English race. Thirty-six years before the Mutiny he had joined the Bengal army as a cornet of cavalry. Like many of the Mutiny heroes, he had taken part in the first Afghan War. He was present with his regiment at the storming of Ghuznee, and he was with Outram when, after the fall of that famous citadel, he with a small band of volunteers pursued Dost Mahomed along tortuous channels and over lofty passes until the Ameer found safety across the Oxus.[1] Lawrence was with the British envoy at the famous tryst when he was treacherously murdered by Akbar Khan. In the retreat from Cabul Captain Lawrence and a small body of horse and foot escorted the women and children, and he was one of the officers who shared their long captivity. At the close of the first Sikh War Lawrence was appointed Assistant Political Agent on the western frontier at Peshawar. He had under his command a large garrison consisting of

First Afghan War, 1838.

Shares the captivity of the women and children.

Political Agent at Peshawar.

[1] Vol. i. p. 156.

Second Sikh War, 1848.

the troops of the Sikh Durbar. When the whole Sikh nation rose up in arms and combined with their hereditary enemies, the Afghans, in an alliance for our destruction, Lawrence by his great personal influence prevented at first the regiments under his command from taking an active part in the movement. But in October 1848 they joined the insurgents, and Lawrence and his wife and children became prisoners in the hands of Chutter Singh, an old influential Sikh chief who was governor of the wild and turbulent district of Hazara. Chutter Singh always spoke of him as an "honoured guest." "Why, it is absurd," he said; "we have no quarrel with *you;* on the contrary we feel indebted to you, as we never received anything but kindness and consideration from your two brothers and yourself. Although it is for our interest that you should be with us, and we must therefore detain you, we desire to treat you in all respects as if you were still Governor of the Punjab." The sentries around his tent were to be regarded as honorary guards for his protection. A few days before the battle of Goozerat the two leading Sirdars, Chutter Singh and Shere Singh, sent for Lawrence to join their camp. "I arrived at the Sikh headquarters on February 12, and shortly after my arrival in their camp Shere Singh took me up to the roof of a house in Goozerat, and pointing out, with evident pride, his army of 60,000 men and sixty guns, drawn up in the plain before us, exultingly asked me what I thought of them, and how I supposed the British army would meet

A prisoner in the hands of Chutter Singh.

Joins the Sikh camp before the battle of Goozerat, 12th February 1845.

the attack of such a superb force. I told him very plainly that 'if he had 200,000 instead of 60,000, they would avail him nothing in the day of battle against our troops.' Observing at the same moment a considerable body of cavalry manœuvring in the plain, I asked what they were. Upon which the Sirdar replied, 'Oh, these are the horsemen of Dost Mahomed who thrashed you so soundly in Cabul.' 'No Afghans, either horse or foot, ever thrashed us in Cabul,' I at once rejoined; 'we were beaten by cold and starvation. But as for these fellows I know them well, and depend upon it, fine looking body as they are, they will be your destruction; they will be the first to fly, and then your men, who otherwise would fight well, will follow their example.'" Lawrence was allowed by the Sirdars eight days' leave of absence to ascertain from his brother Henry Lawrence at Lahore if favourable terms would be given to them. During his absence was won the victory of Goozerat, which added a kingdom to the British dominions, and the defeated Sikhs were pursued by General Gilbert. Lawrence at once left Lahore, and on the 26th February joined Gilbert's camp, pitched on the left bank of the Jhelum. "On the morning of the 25th I proceeded on my journey to Gilbert's camp, which I reached on the afternoon of the 26th, pitched on the left bank of the Jhelum. The Sikhs were on the right bank, and both armies were firing into each other. As I went down alone to the bank of the river to join Shere Singh, I waved a white handkerchief as a signal for a boat to ferry me across. One

George Lawrence allowed by the Sirdars to visit Lahore.

immediately was sent, the firing ceasing on both sides until I landed. I then joined the Sirdar, and surrendered myself in terms of my parole, much to Shere Singh's surprise, and that of the Sikhs, who cheered me long and loudly, applauding me for returning to them now that they had been defeated." A few days later the English prisoners were surrendered. After the annexation of the Punjab, Lawrence returned to Peshawar as Deputy Commissioner. He was with Charles Napier at the forcing of the Kohat pass and guided him through the defile. Of him Napier said, "He is a right good soldier and a right good fellow, and my opinion of him is high." In 1850 he was appointed Political Agent in the Oodeypore or Meywar State, whose ruling family is the highest in rank and dignity among the Rajpoot chiefs of India, and in March 1857 he succeeded his brother Henry as Agent for the Governor-General in the Rajpootana States.

Surrenders himself in terms of his parole.

Deputy Commissioner at Peshawar.

Political Agent, May 1850.

Governor-General's Agent, March 1857.

George Lawrence knew the dangerous state of the Bengal army, and he foresaw that the mutiny would assuredly spread. Ajmeer was the Delhi of Rajpootana. The fort was garrisoned by a company of the 15th Bengal Native Infantry and a company of the Merwara battalion which, being composed of men of a different race and caste, had no sympathy with the Bengal sepoys. George Lawrence, realising the paramount importance of securing the safety of the arsenal at Ajmeer, at once despatched a requisition to the officer commanding at Deesa, the nearest station, one hundred and fifty miles from Ajmeer, to despatch a light field force to Nusseerabad.

The arsenal at Ajmeer secured.

The force was sent, but before it could arrive Mr John Colvin, the Lieutenant of the North-West Provinces, had ordered Colonel Dixon, the Commissioner of Ajmeer, to send for two companies of the Merwara battalion which were quartered at Beawur, a station south-west of Ajmeer on the Deesa road. The order was promptly obeyed. Lieutenant Carnell set forth at night, and by a forced march of thirty-seven miles reached Ajmeer at the break of day, and relieved the company of the 15th before they could make any resistance or communicate with their comrades at Nusseerabad.[1]

Relief of Ajmeer.

About 7.30 P.M. on May 28, the alarm was given at Nusseerabad that the 15th Regiment had mutinied and seized the guns. The officers of the 1st Bombay Lancers immediately went down to their lines. In a short time the corps was under arms, mounted and formed up in open columns of troops. "The column was put into a gallop, and proceeded to the lines of the artillery, when the guns were immediately opened upon us. The order was given at once to charge and take the guns, troops charging in succession. Being 'left' in 'front,' the 6th troop, under Captain Spottiswoode, led; that officer fell at the head of his troop after getting into the battery. A succession of charges followed, the officers of course leading the way."[2] Besides Spottiswoode, Cornet Newberry, "a gallant

Mutiny at Nusseerabad, 28th May 1857.

Murder of Cornet Newberry.

1 "Forty-Three Years in India," by Lieutenant-General Sir George Lawrence, K.C.S.I., C.B., p. 280.

2 Report of Captain Hardy, who succeeded to the command after the death of Colonel Penny, to the officiating Major of Brigade, Rajpootana Field Force, 30th May 1857.

youngster as ever lived," was riddled with balls and then hacked to pieces, and Captain Hardy and Lieutenant Lock were wounded. Colonel Penny, seeing that his small body of horse could not retake the guns, ordered the attack to cease and the corps was marched back and formed in rear of its lines. About five o'clock the cavalry were joined by the officers of the 15th, and as the 30th would not obey orders, it was decided to move out of the cantonment with the women and children while the light remained. The cavalry "marched out of camp when ordered as they stood, leaving their families and everything they had in the world behind them." At first it was intended to make an immediate retreat for Ajmeer, but after the fugitives had gone a mile on the road they left it and made a detour for Beawur. "We went right across country, over fields and rocky hills for about ten miles till we came to the Beawur road, leaving the blazing bungalows behind us." The next morning about eleven Beawur was reached. The same day the mutineers, having burnt and plundered the cantonment, marched for Delhi.

Captain Hardy and Lieutenant Lock wounded.

The cantonment abandoned.

Mutiny at Neemuch, 3rd June 1857.

In a corner connecting Rajpootana, the Central Indian States, and Bombay, is the military station of Neemuch, then under the jurisdiction of the Governor-General's Agent for Rajpootana. The station had been for some time denuded of its Bombay troops, and in May 1857 the garrison consisted of the 4th troop 1st Brigade Bengal Horse Artillery; two troops 1st Bengal Light Cavalry, 72nd Bengal Native Infantry, 7th regiment Gwalior Contingent.

When the mutiny at Meerut and the capture of Delhi by the mutineers became known at Neemuch, every effort was made to preserve the confidence of the men and to make the trust of the officers in them apparent. "Colonel Abbott (72nd Regiment) slept every night in a tent in the lines of his regiment, without a guard or a sentry; and latterly all the officers did the same, even with their families. One wing of the 7th regiment, Gwalior Contingent, held the fortified square and treasury, and the other wing was encamped close to, but outside, the walls. Captain Macdonald, commanding the corps, resided entirely in the fort for the purpose of better observing and controlling his regiment."[1] On the night of the 3rd the artillery rushed to the guns and loading them fired two. It was a preconcerted signal. The cavalry rushed to join them, and shortly after the 7th Regiment broke from their lines. As soon as the booming of the guns was heard, Captain Macdonald lined the ramparts and bastions of the square with the right wing of the Gwalior Contingent, and also ordered the other wing, who were in the lines, to march down and enter the slender fortification. They entered: the drawbridge was taken up, and a guard of twenty picked men with a subadar of nearly fifty years' service, two European sergeants and two officers, were placed to guard the entrance. The officers on the ramparts went among the men encouraging them.

The fortified square.

Captain Macdonald.

[1] The Superintendent at Neemuch to the Agent to the Governor-General at Rajpootana, Neemuch, June 16, 1857.

"Captain Macdonald got out the colours of the 7th, carried them himself along the rampart, and unfurling them on the right front bastion, called on the men to protect them. This they declared they would do."[1] For nearly three hours the officers stood on the ramparts expecting an attack every moment. "Upwards of forty bungalows and innumerable haystacks were blazing away before us, the flames shooting high up in the air brightened the whole cantonment and fort, and threw a lurid glare round the country for miles."[2] Then they heard the tramp of horses and the rumble of the wheels of the guns. Two more shots were fired. Immediately the old subadar of fifty years' standing ordered the men to lower the drawbridge. Macdonald and the other officers came down from the ramparts and went among the men, who were assembled in the courtyard fixing bayonets. Macdonald addressed them, but he could not influence them. "We tried to take away the colours, but this they would not permit." Then slowly and steadily the whole regiment pushed their way through the gate. "We [the officers] were taken on by the tide and got separated in the crowd." Two of them reached at dawn the village of Kussaunda, and found the head-man in a small fort surrounded by half a dozen followers. "I told him we wished to rest there for an hour or so. He said, 'Most certainly,' and received us

Burning of the cantonments.

The square abandoned.

Flight towards Oodeypore.

Kindness of a native landlord.

[1] Dr Murray's Narrative. Account by Ensign Davenport, 12th Bombay Native Infantry.

[2] Dr Murray's Narrative.

with great civility, and had a place cleared for us immediately in his own house. He sent for milk, chupatties, dall, rice, and mangoes, and entreated us to eat. After partaking of some refreshment, we lay down and had a nap. About 9 A.M. a party of the 1st Light Cavalry, who were scouring the country, arrived at Kussaunda, and insisted on having the sahibs out, in order that they might 'saf kuro' them (polish them off; kill them). 'Mar dalo Feringhee' (kill the European) was their cry. We were indebted for our lives to the noble conduct of the Rajpoots of the village, who swore they would stand by us to the last. They said, 'You have eaten with us and are our guests, and now if you were our greatest enemy we would defend you.' They put us in a small dilapidated shed on one of the bastions, and when the troopers demanded us, declared we were not there. The Rajpoots said, 'Kussaunda belongs to the Rana of Oodeypore. We are his subjects, and if you molest us, he will send 10,000 soldiers after you.' They went away in a great rage, threatening to return with the guns in the evening and blow us to pieces." From Kussaunda the two fugitives proceeded to a village in the heart of the jungle. "Here we received very great kindness. The Bheels seemed to vie with each other in their hospitality." Like stars, these numerous acts of kindness shown by rustics shine through the dark clouds of murder and rapine. Next morning the wanderers were delighted "to meet all our friends." On the 9th of June Captain Showers, Political Agent of Meywar, with a strong

Noble conduct of the Rajpoot villagers.

body of the Rana's best troops, joined them. The greater number of the officers went with him in pursuit of the mutineers; some of them with the women and children proceeded to Oodeypore. "On our arrival at Oodeypore, on the 12th of June, the Rana gave up one of his water palaces to us, and we lived there till the 22nd, receiving every kindness and attention from his Majesty."

Kindness of the Rana of Oodeypore.

George Lawrence conducts the judicial duties.

On the 5th of June George Lawrence heard of the mutiny at Nusseerabad, and he left at once for Beawur. Soon after his arrival there Colonel Dixon, the Commissioner of Ajmeer, died, and Lawrence carried on the judicial duties in open court, just as in times of profound peace.[1] On the 12th of June, to his great relief, the force from Deesa reached Nusseerabad. It was not large. It consisted of 400 of His Majesty's 83rd Regiment, the 12th Bombay Native Infantry, and a troop of European Horse Artillery. He at once ordered 100 men of the 83rd to reinforce the Mair garrison at Ajmeer. He had caused Neemuch to be occupied by detachments from the Contingents of Meywar, Kotah, and Bundee. He could maintain authority in the centre of Rajpootana by means of a small detachment of Europeans, but the tranquillity of the vast region depended on the loyalty and fidelity of the chiefs to their treaty engagements. On May 23 he had issued a proclamation to all of them requiring them to keep peace within their borders, and to concentrate their troops on the frontiers of their

His proclamation to the chiefs.

[1] "Reminiscences of Forty-Three Years in India," by Lieutenant-General Sir George Lawrence, K.C.S.I., C.B., p. 283.

states so as to be available if called upon by the paramount Power.[1] The local regiments, or contingent forces, were raised and commanded by British officers, but were mainly paid from the revenues of the states, and, like the Gwalior Contingent, they had no feeling of loyalty towards the state who paid them or the Government who trained them. As in the case of the Gwalior Contingent, the trained soldiers and the state armies were mostly of the same class and caste with the British sepoy, and sympathised with his revolt. The result was that the Merwara Battalion and the Meywar Bheel corps, recruited for the most part from the indigenous tribes of Mirs and Bheels respectively, were the only troops in Rajpootana who stood by their British officers. The Kotah Contingent joined the Neemuch mutineers in July. The Johulpur legion mutinied at Erenpura and Abu in August. The chiefs, when not harassed by the Bengal sepoy or the mutinous mercenaries thrust upon them by the British Government, maintained order in their respective states. In Kotah the chief was unable to control his troops, who were profoundly disaffected, and on the 15th October large bodies of them surrounded the Residency and killed Mr Sadler, the Resident Surgeon, and Mr Saviell, the doctor of the dispensary in the city, who resided in the grounds of the Residency. The guards and servants deserted the official residence. Major Burton and his two sons were left alone with

The contingent forces sympathise with the revolt.

Revolt at Kotah.

[1] "Reminiscences of Forty-Three Years in India," by Lieutenant-General Sir George Lawrence, K.C.S.I., C.B., p. 283.

Heroic defence of the Residency.

a single servant, a camel-driver. They took refuge in a room on the roof of the house, whilst the troops began to bombard it with round-shot. "For four hours these four brave men defended themselves, till at length the Residency was set on fire, and Major Burton, feeling the case to be desperate, proposed to surrender on condition of the mob sparing his sons' lives. The young men at once rejected the offer, saying they would all die together. They knelt down and prayed for the last time, and then calmly and heroically met their fate. The mob had by this time procured scaling ladders, and thus gaining the roof, rushed in and despatched their victims, the servant alone escaping. Major Burton's head was cut off and paraded through the town, and then fired from a gun, but the three bodies were by the Maharajah's orders interred the same evening." The adjoining Chiefs of Bundee and Jalawar gave no aid, partly through clannish and political jealousies of Kotah; but the Maharajah of Karauli, who greatly distinguished himself by his active adherence to the British side throughout 1857, sent troops to the aid of his relative, the Kotah chief, when he was besieged in his own fort by his own mutineers. Through all the critical time George Lawrence and the able Residents in the chief Rajpoot capitals preserved the dignity and influence of the British name, and the chiefs protected their states against the spread of rebellion. Oodeypore hospitably sheltered English families. Jeypore joined in the exertions of the British Government to pacify the country, and Jodhpore, the largest state in Raj-

Staunch adherence of the Maharajah of Karauli.

Important assistance rendered by the chiefs of Rajpootana.

pootana, rendered good service. On hearing of the revolt at Kotah, Lawrence sent an urgent requisition to Bombay for troops. Some detachments began to reach Rajpootana in January 1858, but it was not till March that a considerable force, under Major-General H. G. Roberts, arrived at Nusseerabad, and, as he was senior to Lawrence, he assumed command of the Rajpootana Field Force.[1]

Major-General H. G. Roberts arrives at Nusseerabad with a considerable force, March 1858.

Henry Gee Roberts.

Henry Gee Roberts had thirty-eight years before joined the Bombay Army as Lieutenant in the 13th Native Infantry. He had commanded the Cutch Irregular Horse when the British Government undertook the maintenance of order in that treeless, barren, and rocky sea-coast land.[2] Soon after

[1] The Rajpootana Field Force:—

1st Bombay Cavalry (Lancers)	300
2nd Bombay Cavalry	175
1st Sind Horse	200
	675

Second-class siege-train, six 18-pounders, four 12-pounders, four 8-inch mortars, four 8-inch howitzers.
2nd Troop Bombay Horse Artillery, four 6-pounders.
3rd Troop Bombay Horse Artillery.
European Horse Battery.
Native Foot Artillery, two guns.
Mountain train, six guns, manned by Native Artillerymen.
11th Company Royal Engineers.
A Company Bombay Sappers.

72nd Highlanders	500
83rd Foot	700
95th Foot	600
10th Bombay Native Infantry	600
12th Bombay Native Infantry	500
13th Bombay Native Infantry	700
	3600

[2] Kachchh, or the sea-coast land.

he was employed as Assistant to the Resident in the noble work of introducing conciliation and justice among wild and warlike tribes. In after years Sir Bartle Frere wrote: "He used the influence acquired as a daring sportsman and a successful soldier to give to the wretched people about him their first experience of power used for other purposes than tyranny and oppression, and of intelligence directed to protect the right and punish the wrong-doer." As Commander of the 20th Bombay Native Infantry, he took part in the Sind campaign. "An energetic officer, good in every situation," says William Napier, "he sent on reinforcements which contributed to the victory of Haidrabad." Roberts' capture, with a scanty force, of a Sind Ameer and his guns was a "brilliant exploit," to use the words of Charles Napier, in a brilliant campaign. After the fighting was over, Roberts returned to Cutch as Resident, and proved himself to be a strong and sympathetic administrator. He was, however, at heart a soldier, and he returned to active military employment, and was commanding the Northern Division of the Bombay Army when he was appointed to command the Rajpootana Field Force.

Siege of Kotah, 21st March 1858.

On the morning of the 21st of March General Roberts arrived before Kotah with his 1st Brigade under the command of Brigadier Macan, and encamped a short distance from the left bank of the Chumbul, behind the village of Suckutpoor. The 2nd Brigade, under Brigadier W. Parke, and the siege-train joined them in the evening. The

Maharao, with the aid of the Karauli troops, was in possession of the south-western portion of the city which was nearest the palace, and of the fortified line of wall which separated it from the rest of the town. He was willing to allow the entrance of the British troops into the part held by him, and to place its defence in their hands. "On an inspection of the river, which was at once made, it was ascertained that no difficulty would be experienced in crossing over any portion of the force opposite the palace, and that the boats in the Rajah's possession were incapable of conveying heavy artillery."[1] At the same time, Captain Cumberland of the Royal Engineers and Lieutenant Haig of the Bombay Engineers reconnoitred the left bank of the river below the village of Suckutpoor, and Captain Cumberland fixed upon two sites for batteries. "No. 1 near Suckutpoor, for the 12-pounder iron guns, to keep under the fire of the enemy's guns directed upon the ferry; and No. 2, near the village of Kinaree, for two 18-pounder guns, to oppose a battery of the enemy on the other bank, and to draw their attention towards that end of the city."[2] The batteries opened at daybreak on the 24th, and two 18-inch mortars placed in rear of each of them played now and then upon the large buildings in the city. The battery near Suckutpoor almost silenced the

Batteries No. 1 and No. 2 erected.

[1] Major Tremenheere, Bombay Engineers, Commanding Engineer Rajpootana Field Force, in his report writes—"Both these batteries were commenced during the night of the 22nd." He does not state when Battery No. 3 was commenced.

[2] Ibid.

enemy's battery bearing on the ferry, "but the fire of the enemy's guns on No. 2 was well sustained throughout the whole period, and was never entirely overcome." On the morning of the 25th the British camp was aroused by hearing the booming of heavy guns in the town. It continued for some hours. Then it was known that under cover of a heavy fire the rebels with scaling ladders had made a vigorous assault upon the Kittonpole Gate, with the intention of taking that portion of the town and driving the Rajah into his palace, which was divided from it by a slender wall. The assault was repulsed, and late that evening a detachment of two companies of Her Majesty's 83rd Regiment and one company of the 13th Regiment of Native Infantry were sent to assist the Maharao. It was also determined that the 12-pounder guns in No. 1 Battery should be withdrawn and placed in position in the town, and that troops for the assault should be sent across the ferry. But as the enemy's battery still continued to fire occasionally on the ferry, a battery (No. 4) containing two 18-pounders was constructed a little to the left of Battery No. 1. "In the evening the 12-pounder guns and the whole of the 8-inch mortars in Battery No. 1 were withdrawn. The former were taken across the river during the night, and the latter removed to the park preparatory to being sent into the town."[1] As it was important during the operations in the

Vigorous assault of the rebels, 25th March 1858.

Battery No. 4 erected.

[1] Letter from the Commanding Engineer to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Rajpootana Field Force, Camp, Kotah, 5th April 1858. General Roberts in his despatch makes no mention of this important move, and there is the same omission in a recent military publication.

town to engage the attention of the enemy on the left by continuing more vigorously the fire in that direction, a battery, "No. 5, for three guns was commenced this evening on the north side of the village of Kinaree, in a position commanding the landing-place at Lallpoora, and was completed early on the morning of the 27th."[1] That morning the enemy made another assault on the portion of the town held by the Maharao, and were driven back by the garrison, and by part of the detachment of Her Majesty's 83rd. During the next two days the ordnance was got into position in the town.[2] On the 29th of March "the whole of the guns and mortars which had been placed in position on and in rear of the works in the town opened fire at certain points in the city, where the chief magazine

Battery No. 5 commenced.

Bombardment of the town, 29th March.

[1] Major-General H. G. Roberts writes—"On the 28th the position of the left battery was changed to the left of the village of Kinaree."

[2] "In the Lallboorj, one 12-pounder heavy gun and one 24-pounder howitzer; below the rampart near the Lallboorj, three 8-inch mortars; near the Kittonpole Gate, two 5½-inch mortars belonging to the mountain train; on a bastion next to the Puttardar Bastion, and on the rampart below, two mountain train howitzers; on the right below the Hooniman Bridge, three 8-inch mortars. Embrasures were made, and the parapets were strengthened, where necessary, by working parties of Royal Engineers and Sappers and Miners. Ramps were formed, and the terrepleins of the bastions enlarged to give more room for working the guns. The 12-pounder gun on the Lallboorj opened fire on the 28th upon some guns behind a stockade in its front, at the distance of 300 yards, and on the other side of the river slow firing was continued by the four 18-pounders in the batteries on the right and left."—Letter from the Commanding Engineer to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Rajpootana Field Force, Camp, Kotah, 5th April 1858. General Roberts writes—"On the 27th and 28th two 12-pounders and six 8-inch mortars were, by the indefatigable labour of the artillery officers and men, aided by working parties of infantry, got into position in the town." In a recent military publication the important words "in the town" are omitted.

was supposed to be located. About 5 P.M. it exploded, and several minor explosions followed. The artillery duel on the left bank continued during the day. Working parties from the Royal Engineers and 3rd Company of Sappers and Miners were employed in forming rafts of porter casks for the passage of infantry at the ferry, near the palace. The order had been given that the assault should take place next day. The command had also been issued that firing was to be continued during the night at the rate of two rounds per hour from each piece of ordnance.[1]

Troops for the assault.

Troops for the assault were organised in three columns:—

Right column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Parke, H.M.'s 72nd Highlanders, consisted of—

H.M.'s 72nd Highlanders, under Major Thelluson	250 men
12th Regiment Native Infantry, under Captain Adams	250 „

The second column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes, 12th Native Infantry, consisted of—

H.M.'s 83rd Regiment, under Major Steele .	250 men
12th Regiment Native Infantry, under Lieutenant Howinson	250 „

The third column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Raines, H.M.'s 95th, consisted of—

H.M.'s 95th Regiment, under Major the Hon. E. Massey	250 men
10th Regiment Native Infantry, under Lieutenant Roome	250 „

[1] General Roberts states that "a slack fire of two shots per hour from each piece" was opened in the morning, and continued during the day.

The Reserve, under Brigadier Macan, consisted of—
H.M.'s 83rd Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Heatley . . . . 250 men
13th Regiment Native Infantry, under Captain Stuart . . . . 250 „

"Two Engineer officers, with a party of Royal Engineers carrying tools and powder-bags, were attached to each assaulting column, and two scaling ladders, carried by a party of Native Sappers, to each of the leading columns. The third column was accompanied by two mountain train howitzers under Lieutenant Heathorn of the Artillery."[1]

At 1 A.M., March 30, the 1st column began to be passed over the river on the raft and to take up their position in the town. When the light strengthened, the guns on the walls opened fire and the mortars played into the portion of the town held by the rebels. By seven o'clock all the columns were taken safely across the river. It was intended that the first and second columns should pass out to the attack by a breach in the wall made by three mines, and the third column by blowing out the Kittonpole Gate, which had been built up with stone. But the Engineers discovered that the old wall was so thick that it would take some time to make a breach of the required breadth. The design was abandoned. All columns were to pass through the gate. About noon the powder-bags were placed, the fuse lighted, a loud crash, and the gate

The columns cross the river

The explosion of

[1] Letter from the Commanding Engineer to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Rajpootana Field Force, 5th April 1858.

the Kittonpole Gate.

was clear. "Out our men poured in quick succession, though with the utmost steadiness, each brigadier at the head of his column, sword in hand, the first and second leading to the right, the third to the left, whilst the fourth remained the reserve." The first column, under Brigadier Parke, moving under the wall to the south or right, reached the Pattadar bastion. They then wheeled to the left and, making their way under the ramparts, reached the Zorawan Burj or Zorawan bastion,[1] the broad ramp of which the 72nd Highlanders ascended as steadily as on parade. The enemy fled, abandoning three guns, and Parke advanced rapidly and took possession, after a slight resistance, of the Soorujpole Gate, with its large bastions, on which were three more guns. He had completely outflanked the enemy and taken their position in the city in reverse. They had erected in nearly every street a double barricade and a gun in front of it in position to sweep it; "and here and there by the guns infernal machines, with fifty barrels each, loaded half-way up and duly primed." But these elaborate defences were rendered of no avail. They had now been not only turned by Parke, but the second column, after reaching the third bastion from the Pattadar Bastion, had turned to the left and made for the Soorujpole Gate. The third column, passing through the Kittonpole Gate, advanced

The first column.

The second column.

The third column.

[1] In the despatch it is Joorasyan Boorg; a recent military publication calls it Zorawan Burj: in the plan from a survey by Lieutenant Walker, R.E., and Lieutenant Gambier, R.E., it is Zurawer Bourj.

direct to the left. The rebels, when they discovered that the Soorujpole Gate had been taken and the second column was advancing steadily towards it, made a rush to escape, "but not knowing that the third column was to the left, crossed its front at 400 yards, when a great number were killed by the Enfield rifles of the 95th. Others, seeing that they would have to run the gauntlet, made for the bastions and effected their escape over the walls by the ropes which had apparently been in readiness for this purpose; and one man who was mounted (I was told by an officer who saw him), in a paroxysm of frenzy, spurred his horse to the rampart and jumped clear over, a fall of fifty feet. Both horse and rider I saw afterwards at the foot of it outside killed."[1] After occupying the bastions the troops proceeded to clear the houses. Many a mortal tussle took place. Lieutenant Cameron, 72nd Highlanders, "headed an attack up a narrow entrance of a house defended by a party of desperate men, two of whom he slew and was himself desperately wounded."[2]

Lieutenant Cameron, 72nd Highlanders.

Second column.

When Colonel Holmes, commanding the second column, found that Brigadier Parke had possession of the Soorujpole Gate, he marched towards the north end of the town, which was found to be entirely abandoned by the enemy, and occupied Rampoora and Lallpoora gateways. When the

[1] Account of the capture of Kotah by an officer in the attacking column.

[2] Major-General H. G. Roberts, Commanding Rajpootana Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army of Bombay, Camp before Kotah, April 7, 1858.

The Reserve.

enemy was seen leaving the city the Reserve column was directed to enter the Rampoora quarter by the Kittonpole Gate, and it pushed on till it found Holmes at the Rampoora Gate. Not far from this gate was one of the enemy's batteries, opposite the village of Kinaree. Holmes ordered Lieutenant Hancock with the party of Royal Engineers under his orders to dismount the guns: "while so employed the magazine in the battery blew up, and I regret to state that Lieutenant Hancock and ten men of the Royal Engineers and three of the 12th Regiment of Native Infantry were more or less severely injured, and that four of the Royal Engineers have since died of their wounds."[1] By half-past two the British troops were in possession of Kotah, and "fifty-seven guns (two-thirds of which are brass of the heaviest metal) were taken."

Explosion of a magazine.

Capture of the town.

Kotah evacuated by the British troops.

On the 20th of April Kotah was evacuated by the British Force, the Maharao being able to protect his capital and preserve the peace of his state. Rajpootana was in a state of comparative tranquillity when the Agent to the Governor-General received the startling news that Tantia Topee, with a force of 12,000 men, had entered the province.

[1] Letter from the Commanding Engineer to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Rajpootana Field Force, Camp, Kotah, 5th April 1858.

CHAPTER XIX.

On crossing the Chumbul and entering Rajpootana, Tantia sent secret emissaries to several capitals in Rajpootana, especially to Jeypore, where he believed there was a large and influential party ready to join him. He also determined to make a rapid move on that city. Captain Eden, the Political Agent at Jeypore, on getting trustworthy information of his advance, at once sent the news to Major-General Roberts. On the 28th of June Roberts set out from Nusseerabad with a force[1] strong in infantry but weak in cavalry. By long and rapid marches he arrived about six miles from Jeypore while Tantia was sixty miles away. Tantia foiled, marched south to Tonk, the capital of a Muhammadan principality, partly in Rajpootana and partly in Central India. Roberts followed after him, and on the 8th July, as he began to approach the city of Tonk, he sent forward a fly-

Tantia Topee enters Rajpootana.

General Roberts sets out from Nusseerabad with a force, 28th June 1858.

Tantia proceeds south to Tonk.

[1] Detail of General Roberts' Force :—

Two Squadrons 8th Hussars.
" " 1st Bombay Cavalry.
300 Belooch Horse.
Light Field Battery.
Siege-Train.
Wing 72nd Highlanders.
" 83rd Foot.
" 12th Bombay Infantry.
" 13th Bombay Infantry.

Colonel Holmes' pursuing column.

ing column[1] under Colonel Holmes. The column started about 7 P.M., "and after marching all night, during which we had heard a great deal of firing at Tonk, we arrived within about five miles of that place about seven o'clock on the following morning. The men were becoming so exhausted from the heat, and the artillery horses so wearied, that we were obliged to halt. I never felt anything like the sultriness of that day. We lost two of the 8th from sunstroke, which affected them in their tents." The firing they heard was due to the Rao and Tantia having entered the town and shots having been interchanged between the rebels and the garrison of the citadel. It consisted of such men as the Nawab, who had sought safety in it, could depend upon. The remainder of his force, with four guns, he had left outside. He did not trust their loyalty, and they proved his suspicion correct by joining the rebels. General Roberts, on hearing that Tantia had entered the city, pushed forward and rejoined Holmes. On finding that the rebels had decamped, he again sent Holmes in pursuit with his light column. Many were the conflicting reports as to the movements of Tantia. It was stated that his intention was to march to Indeergurh, and having crossed

[1] Details of Colonel Holmes' Column :—

8th Hussars, ...	147
1st Bombay Lancers, ...	123
Belooch Horse, ...	300
2 Troop Horse Artillery.	
72nd Highlanders, ...	227
12th Bombay Native Infantry, .	486

the Chumbul by a ford, to make for southern India. The rain, however, had fallen in torrents, and the Chumbul was an impassable barrier. On the 13th Holmes got trustworthy information that the insurgent force was at Kasthala, eighteen miles distant, and he at once moved forward. But when the cavalry skirmishers arrived near the place, bands of rebel horse and foot were seen rapidly making their way through the ravines up to the hills. The next morning the pursuit was continued. Through ravines and jungles they followed the retreating foe. The heat was great, and owing to the nature of the country, and the lack of information regarding it, the force could only move during the day. The infantry had also to accompany the artillery and cavalry, and the progress therefore was slow. The rebels could move with greater celerity, for to them tents and baggage were an unnecessary encumbrance. They slept with their bridles in their hands and their swords by their side, ready at any moment to beat a retreat. Each trooper carried a few days' provisions for himself and his horse, and when that was exhausted he plundered the homestead. After three days' hard chase Holmes had to halt in order to renew his supplies, and it was difficult to obtain forage or supplies, for the rebels had eaten the country. On the 19th, passing through a difficult defile, Holmes entered the valley of Khatkar, a kind of swelling plain between hills and the river Mej, shaggy with jungle and scarred by ravines. The spies and the rushes told Holmes

Movements of Colonel Holmes' pursuing column.

that the rebels had halted at Khatkar, unable to cross the swollen stream. He at once pushed forward on such track as there was through the jungle, and after eighteen miles' toilsome march reached Khatkar. He found the majority of the rebel force had crossed the river by a ford the day before, and the rearguard at dawn. The next day he crossed, and then he heard the news that the enemy were moving on Boondee, the romantic capital of one of the most interesting little states in Rajpootana. But the Rao Rajah of the principality was not likely to favour the cause of a Mahratta leader. It was to the British Government that Boondee owed the restoration of districts which had been long alienated and held by Holkar and Scindia. "The intense gratitude felt by the reigning prince of the day, the frank and brave Bishan Singh, was expressed in a few forcible words: 'I am not a man of protestation, but my head is yours whenever you require it.'" His successor, Ram Singh, kept the promise. He closed the gates of his walled town, and Tantia passed a few miles south, and then crossed the Boondee hills by the Keena Pass. Holmes, on passing through Boondee, heard that the rebels were making their way through the Keena Pass "with the intention of endeavouring if possible to push on towards Adeypoor (Oodeypore), where they have many friends, we made for Jehazpoor (Jehagpore) to cut them off."[1] Holmes also heard at Boondee that his

The state of Boondee.

Tantia crosses the Boondee hills by Keena Pass.

[1] Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Naylor, 8th Hussars. Two miles from Mowgaum, July 31, 1858.

guns would not get through the difficult Keena defile,[1] and he therefore determined to abandon the direct line of pursuit, and to cross the Boondee range by the Boondee Pass to Jehagpore. He would then march down the river Banas to the city of Mandalgarh, some twenty-seven miles distant from Jehagpore, and about one hundred miles north-east of Oodeypore. He hoped from there to intercept the rebels in the valley between the river and the pass of Keena. But a deluge of rain cut up the few tracks, turned the black soil into a sea of mud, and converted the small streams and deep ravines which intersected the country in all directions into raging torrents. On the 21st Holmes marched to Naogaon and encamped on the banks of the Mej. "We have just progressed two miles in eleven days! On arriving at the river we found it was not fordable; but after waiting three days, succeeded in crossing it." The following morning the force attempted to march to Etonda, "but after passing through a deep nullah, and floundering along a road always up to our horses' knees, and many times up to their girths in black mud, the day broke and disclosed to us the pleasing facts that we had progressed about a mile from

Holmes determines to cross the range by the Boondee Pass.

[1] The writer of the able article in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' 1860, on "The Pursuit of Tantia Topee," gives the following reason why Tantia crossed the Bondee hills to the westward by the Keena Pass: "The object of this probably was that the course due south led through a very wild uninhabited country where his large force would have found great difficulty in procuring supplies, and his present route did not occasion any great detour. It would, moreover, lead near the important towns of Oodeypore and Saloombur, containing large garrisons, not unlikely to declare in his favour."

the camp, and that the greater part of our force, and all our baggage, had been unable to cross the nullah, in consequence of a sudden rise in the water, already sufficiently deep; so we returned to camp, the greater number of us, who were already over, having to wait some hours before the nullah was sufficiently fordable to recross. Since that day we have been unable to move, and have narrowly escaped starvation; we consumed our last morsel of flour on the evening of the 29th, and the horses, who were standing very nearly up to their knees in water, had not had any grain or hay for two days, so it became a most distressing matter of necessity that we should get out of that somehow." The rain fortunately ceased, and enabled them to cross the nullah and make their way "through about two miles of deep mud" to a village, where they encamped. "We had to employ *all the camels of the force* to carry the baggage of the Lancers and ourselves. They took over five hours doing the two miles: this was yesterday morning, and we returned the camels to bring up the rest of the force; but as they have not yet arrived, and it is late, I fancy they must have got into a fix. It is quite impossible to get the guns through the two miles we travelled yesterday. The camels suffer terribly in this muddy weather, as they slip down, with their great spongy feet, and cannot get up again. The river by which we are encamped, and which was not more than a small brook when we first arrived, became, when it rained, such a torrent, and ran with such violence,

that it resembled a very heavy sea running, and one night was very nearly inundating the whole camp."[1] On the 4th Holmes reached Jehazpore, and he learnt that Tantia had reached Mandalgarh before him. Three days later he heard that the rebels were crossing the Banas, and that their destination was Bheelwara, an important city in the Oodeypore state about eighty miles from the capital. On the 8th the column crossed the river, and "got the order to join General Roberts' force; we had been marching in the morning, but started at half-past six in the evening, and arrived at Bheelwara about one o'clock the following day, having marched upwards of thirty miles." On their arrival they found that the insurgent force had been defeated the previous day by General Roberts.

Holmes reaches Jehazpore, 4th July 1858.

The rebels cross the Banas.

When General Roberts heard Tantia's force had crossed the Boondee range, he moved westward to cover Ajmeer and command the Nusseerabad and Neemuch road. He encamped about thirty miles from Ajmeer, on an elevated piece of ground near the village of Surwar, and here he had to remain eleven days owing to the country being a sheet of water. But when the rain ceased, and the roads were again passable, he marched with his force towards Neemuch to meet the enemy. On the 7th of August, when at Dabla, he heard that Tantia Topee had taken up a position ten miles away, near the town of Sanganeer, on the Neemuch and Nusseerabad road. The small river Kotaria divided it

Movements of General Roberts.

[1] Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Naylor, 8th Hussars, Neemuch, August 21, 1858.

from the town of Bheelwara, a little more than a mile up the stream. The following morning, at 1.30 A.M., Roberts with his force[1] set out; but the roads were bad and marshy beyond description, and it was 9.30 A.M. before he reached Bunaira, and discovered that the enemy were in strength about Sanganeer and Bheelwara. The troops were halted and rations served. Leaving the sick and baggage securely guarded, he again advanced. A few miles from Sanganeer a party of the Irregular Horse surprised a strong picket of the enemy, and pursued them through the town. On arriving at the other side, the pursuers found the enemy in great force. Their infantry and guns were posted in front of Bheelwara. They had sent their numerous horse across the river, and they had thrown them forward on to their left flank up to Sanganeer, and on their right to nearly opposite the town, "the whole forming a horse-shoe figure of about a mile and a half, connected by skirmishers." It was about five o'clock when Roberts approached Sanganeer, and after having cleared it of rebels, he advanced his guns to the river-bank, and opened fire on the enemy's right. They were quickly thrown into

Action at Sanganeer, 8th August 1858.

[1] Detail of General Roberts' Advance Force:—
8th Light Field Battery, 3 guns.
12 Golandazes.
18th Irregular Horse.
11th Company R.E.
3rd Company Sappers and Miners.
83rd Regiment, 500.
Goozerat Irregular Horse, 50.
A few Belooch Horse.
12th Bombay Infantry, 200.

confusion, and the British infantry crossed the stream, heedless of the fire of two of the enemy's guns which played on them. They ascended a rising ground, and the General ordered the 83rd to storm and occupy the small hamlet of Rowari, on his right, which they did in gallant style. The guns, having now crossed the river, advanced and opened fire on the enemy's left; but only a few shells had been fired when the rebels were out of range. It was too dark to pursue, and the force encamped on the rising ground.

Roberts continues the pursuit.

The following day, 9th August, Roberts, who had been joined by Holmes with his cavalry, set out in pursuit of the rebels. On the 13th of August, after having made "three long marches, one of nineteen miles, one of twenty miles, and one of twenty-eight miles," the force[1] reached Kunkrowlee, an important town thirty-eight miles south-east of Oodeypore city. It is situated on the Raj Samand, a fine sheet of water formed by a dam across two hills, part of the Aravelli range. A few of the rebels' scouts were driven in, and Roberts learnt from the spies

[1] Detail of General Roberts' Force :—

2nd Troop Horse Artillery of all ranks, 6 guns.
Left half No. 8 Light Field Battery, 3 guns.
Do. Royal Engineers, and 3rd Company Sappers and Miners.

H.M.'s 8th Hussars, Detachment,	about	125.
1st Light Cavalry Lancers,	"	100
H.M.'s 72nd Highlanders,	"	270
H.M.'s 83rd Regiment,	"	562
12th Regiment N.I.,	"	336
13th Regiment N.I.,	"	330
Goozerat Irregular Horse,	"	50

Lieut. Macaulay's Belooch Horse.
2nd Cos. 12th Regiment N.I. Some Belooch Horse.

that the main body of the enemy was seven miles distant on the Banas river. As it was late in the day, Roberts encamped at Kunkrowlee, and at 5 A.M. the next morning, having left a guard with the baggage and siege-guns, he advanced, and after two hours' heavy marching he got sight of the enemy. "On finding our troops approaching they moved out and took up a strong position on a rocky ridge of low hills, which forms the right bank of the Banas, which flowed at the foot of the ridge along the whole front of their position; on our side the river was a perfect level plain. Their guns were placed on their right, and swept the whole of this plain before us."[1] The General, forming up his troops behind a low ridge which concealed them from the view of the enemy, gave the order to advance. Supported by the cavalry on the left, they galloped down a gentle slope to the bank of the river "where the artillery came into action, but with little effect, as the enemy's guns and troops were concealed amongst the hills, whilst we were exposed to the fire of four guns, three 6-pounders and a 9-pounder, at five hundreds yards' range, until the infantry could get down the hill. The firing on the part of the rebels was at first very bad, but soon after they got our range and direction perfectly. I moved the cavalry twice a few yards when I found they were firing accurately, but they continued their fire on us, dropping their shot just

Action at Banas River, August 14.

[1] From Major-General H. G. Roberts, Commanding Rajpootana Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Poona. Dated, Camp Moee, 16th August 1858.

at our horses' feet. Two shots went through the ranks without touching anybody, but we lost four horses, and my dear little gentle white horse was struck full in the chest by a round-shot. I had just time to jump off him before he fell."[1] The infantry, now emerging into the plain, marched across it in line, and, accompanied by the three guns—8th Light Field Battery—they forded the river, and attacking the enemy, drove them from the ridge they occupied, capturing four guns.[2] The guns secured, the artillery and cavalry crossed the river, and the horsemen went after them. As the cavalry swept round a cluster of rocks in the middle of the plain the enemy fired on them, and Sergeant-Major Holland was mortally wounded. Colonel Naylor could not attack the position the band had taken up with cavalry, and he halted until the infantry came up and bayoneted them. The main body of the enemy, consisting of cavalry "and some of the more active of the infantry who had thrown everything away but their muskets," had retreated so rapidly across the undulating country that they were out of sight. Colonel Naylor, with cavalry and horse artillery, was sent in pursuit. Continuing on the tracks of the enemy, going on faster and faster, the Hussars, after a chase of four miles, came in sight of a strong body of the enemy's infantry, escorted by cavalry in large numbers. The Lancers and

[1] Letter from Lieut.-Colonel Naylor, 8th Hussars, Neemuch, August 21, 1858.

[2] From Major-General H. G. Roberts, Commanding Rajpootana Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Poona. Dated, Camp Moee, 16th August 1858.

Beloochees had lost the track and gone away to the left. Naylor sent back for them, and slowly followed the rebels. When they arrived, he went forward at the trot, and drove in the rearguard. Most of the main body of the infantry threw away their muskets and sought refuge in the jungle. Naylor and his small force had skirmished for two miles through the jungle when they came in its midst on a village in which a small body of rebel infantry were posted. It was, however, surrounded by cavalry. Naylor had followed them for fifteen miles, and, on counting his men, he found he had only one hundred Regulars and fifty Belooches left; the horses were exhausted, the country totally unsuitable for cavalry, and he abandoned the pursuit. He reached camp at eleven that night, "and his men had not tasted food all day, having been eighteen or nineteen hours in the saddle."

Man Singh, August 1858.

Tantia had been defeated; but he now found a fresh ally in Man Singh, a Rajpoot chief whose Jagheer of Narwar lies forty-four miles south of Gwalior. The state (about sixty miles in area) had been assigned to his uncle in 1818, on the mediation of the Resident at Gwalior under the British guarantee, on the condition that he disbanded his army and ceased from plundering.[1] Scindia refused to recognise Man Singh's right to succeed to the state, and on the 2nd of August Man Singh surprised and seized Scindia's strong

Man Singh seizes the fort of Paori.

[1] "A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sunnuds, relating to India and Neighbouring Countries," compiled by C. U. Aitchison, C.S. Vol. iv. p. 446.

fort of Paori, twenty miles north of Sipree. Brigadier Smith's Brigade[1] of the Rajpootana Field Force, which had taken part in the capture of Gwalior, was at the time at Sipree. The Brigadier was, under Sir Robert Napier, answerable for keeping under control any disaffected portion of Scindia's territory. He therefore marched at once to Paori; but on arriving there he found it was far too strong to be taken by field guns, and encamped three miles away from the fort. He applied to Brigadier-General Napier for two 18-pounders, two 8-inch mortars, and reinforcements. Napier himself set forth from Gwalior with the Siege-Train and a force of 600 men, and reached Paori by forced marches on the 20th August. He took up a position with Smith's force immediately outside the range of the enemy's guns. Four hundred yards from the main entrance, which had three massive gates and bastions to flank them, was a temple, which was seized by a party of infantry under Major Vialls, regardless of a heavy fire of round-shot and musketry. Napier proceeded to reconnoitre the force, and he used his engineer's experience to discover the best possible point of attack. At sunset he sent down to the temple four 8-inch mortars, and all night they kept up a rapid and

Brigadier Smith marches to the fort.

Sir Robert Napier reaches Paori by forced marches, 20th August.

Bombardment of Paori.

[1] Detail of Brigadier Smith's Brigade :—
2 Squadrons 8th Hussars.
2 Squadrons 1st Bombay Lancers.
95th Foot.
10th Bombay Native Infantry.
Troop Bombay Horse Artillery.

continuous fire. While the enemy were occupied with a fire in front, a breaching battery for two 18-pounders was commenced three hundred yards from a bastion on the east side. Another battery for the howitzer was also commenced at four hundred yards. When day broke, Napier opened fire with his 18-pounders, the mortars continuing to play, and he maintained the fire continuously for thirty hours. He was about to storm when he discovered that, on the night of the 23rd, the enemy had evacuated the fort. It had been impossible to invest it completely, as it was a mile and a half in circuit, and "unfortunately there was a loophole, an impracticable side to the fort, on which the jungle was so impenetrable and the ground so broken by ravines and nullahs that it was impossible to place either guns or troops there." Napier entered the fort next morning, and, having despatched a column under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel G. H. Robertson, 25th Bombay Native Infantry, he demolished the fortifications of Paori and marched to Sipree.

Capture of Paori.

On the 27th of August the column[1] under

[1] Details of Colonel Robertson's column :—

1 Troop 2nd Division Bombay Horse Artillery.
1 Division 4-2 Bombay Fort Artillery.
1 Squadron 8th Hussars.

Meade's Horse	250
Royal Engineers	7
86th Regiment	93
95th Regiment	118
10th Bombay Infantry	392
25th Bombay Infantry	250

Colonel Robertson, which was furnished with fifteen days' supplies for the European troops, and camels and elephants to carry two hundred men, moved from Paori. The first day they marched more than twenty miles, and when darkness began to fall they came to a village, where, to their delight, they hit on the track of the rebels. They could not follow it at once. They had to march by daylight, because they were passing through a country of deep ravines, thick jungles, and swollen rivers. The next morning they continued the pursuit, and after following the track of the rebels for five marches they reached the village of Sangi. "At this place we halted one day, partly on account of having lost all trace of the rebels, and partly because our horses and those of the Horse Artillery urgently required rest." At Sangi, Man Singh had divided his force into two divisions. No trace of him could be discovered; but Robertson heard that he was on the track of a large body of the Gwalior Contingent and some Bengal Native Infantry regiments. He followed, and reached Barhampur after dark on the 3rd of September. Here he learnt that the rebels were at Beejapore, on the Chupet river three miles away. He determined to make a dash at them. At two in the morning he started with a part of the European and Native Infantry mounted on elephants and camels, forty-seven of the Hussars, and a hundred and fifty of

Pursuit of Man Singh.

Meade's Horse.[1] "The remainder of the force he left with the guns, it being thought unsafe to leave them without protection, as Man Singh was believed to be in our rear with 1400 men."[2] The main body, with the guns, moved at daylight, and after a very long march through a jungle came up with Robertson, who had found no trace of the rebels. They halted under some trees. "The horses were very much done indeed, and most of those of the artillery were without shoes." At 5 P.M. the advance party were again in motion, and, "to the surprise of many, just at daylight the following morning the enemy were discovered." They were encamped on a rising ground on the bank of the river just beyond the village of Beejapore. "At a short distance before arrival at the village," says an officer of the 8th Hussars who was present, "the infantry were extended in skirmishing order along the valley of the river, and the cavalry were sent round at a trot on the far side through the village. The infantry first attracted the attention of the enemy, but, being hidden by the houses, our fellows and the rest of the cavalry were upon them before they were aware of their approach,

Action at Beejapore, 5th September.

[1] Details of the detachment:—

8th Hussars	47
Meade's Horse	150
86th Regiment	79
95th Regiment	59
10th Bombay Native Infantry	100
25th Bombay Native Infantry	100

[2] Letter from an Officer of the 8th Hussars, Goonal, September 14, 1858.

and in the thick of them before they had time to fire more than one round from their muskets which they had prepared for the infantry. They were completely taken by surprise. Down the bank and into the river they went as quick as ever they could, the mounted men being the first in, but not without leaving a good many unmistakable tokens of the will with which our fellows handled their swords." The bank of the river being too perpendicular to allow our cavalry crossing immediately, they had to ride along it a little way and cross lower down. "They then formed again and went at the rebels, who were in a body; but from the ground being cut up by deep nullahs and rents, the fight was necessarily of a very scattered character." Many of the rebels fought desperately. "They fired their muskets, then drew their swords, and stood until they were either riddled by bullets or pierced by the bayonet." The British casualties, considering the nature of the resistance, were few. "Poor Fawcett, 95th, was shot high up in the middle of the chest; he breathed for twenty minutes. He and a few men were making a rush at a lot of fellows. Poore (8th Hussars) received a cut on the wrist, severing the tendons; and he is not going on well, I am sorry to say, as it will not heal. Hanbury (8th Hussars) got a slice from a sword on the fleshy part of the shoulder and back of his arm." Sergeant-Major Champion was shot in the breast. It is stated that the loss of the enemy was between four and five hundred. Their force was composed of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd,

and 4th Regiments of the Gwalior Contingent; Scindia's Ali Jah Bahadier Regiment; 1st Kotah Contingent; 40th, 50th, and 52nd Bengal Infantry. Most of the mutineers wore pouches and belts, and were armed with percussion muskets. Several had medals for Mooltan, Cabul, and Pegu, and other campaigns. On the 21st of September Colonel Robertson marched with his column into Goonah, a town between Mhow and Gwalior on the grand trunk road from Bombay to Agra.

Brigadier Parke's pursuit of Tantia.

After his defeat at Banas river Tantia Topee marched nearly due east towards Boondee, followed by General Roberts. On the 18th of August Roberts met at Poona Brigadier Parke, commanding the Neemuch Brigade, who had with him a miscellaneous force comprising the 72nd Highlanders, Native Infantry, Bombay Cavalry, Royal Engineers, Royal Artillery, and Meywar troopers. Having reinforced Parke by the 8th Hussars and Belooch Horse, Roberts instructed him to continue the pursuit. Parke marched due south to Neemuch to obtain remounts for the Hussars whose horses were knocked up. It was impossible to get any trustworthy information regarding the movements of Tantia and the state of the country. Parke was informed by a district officer that the Chumbul could not be crossed at that season. He was also informed by the Political Agent at Oodeypore, then at Neemuch, that a correspondent who was with the rebels stated that they were determined to get over the river. Parke marched to Morasa, fifteen miles from

Neemuch, in the hope of intercepting Tantia as he made a dash direct south. But Tantia, with amazing swiftness of movement, traversed a wide belt of country eastward and reached the Chumbul. Parke, on hearing of this movement, made a forced march to the river and found "a few ponies were standing on the left bank, and the rebels disappearing among some mango-trees in the west horizon." The Chumbul was still passable but was rising rapidly, and so Brigadier Smith, not daring to cross the stream, and having his small force cut off from all communication with Roberts, returned to Neemuch to refit a column.

Tantia crosses the Chumbul.

Tantia, after having crossed the river near Sagoodar (20th August), marched to the old town of Jhalrapatan, the "city of bells,"[1] thirty miles distant on the main road from Agra to Indore. It is the capital of the Jhalwar State, which is bounded on the north by the state of Kotah, and on the south by the outlying portion of the territories of India and Holkar. The Maharaj Rana Pirthi Sing, ruler of Jawalpar, an active and good-natured chief, was well inclined to the British, but his troops fraternised with the rebels, and Tantia took possession of the town and surrounded his palace, which is enclosed by a high masonry wall forming a square, with large circular bastions at each corner. Tantia writes: "The next day I

[1] The name is said by Tod to mean the city of bells, as the old town, being a place of some sanctity, contained 108 temples with bells to correspond. It is also said to mean "the city" (*patan*) of "springs" (*jharla*), as they abound.

went and told the Raja to give some money to pay the expenses of my army. He said he could give five lakhs of rupees, but not more. I returned and told the Rao Sahib this. The next day the Rao Sahib sent for the Raja and demanded twenty-five lakhs from him. The Raja declared he could not give more than five lakhs; but, after some discussion, it was settled that he should pay fifteen lakhs. The Raja said he would go to his palace and send this sum. He went accordingly, and sent two and a quarter lakhs in cash, and promised that the rest should follow. By the next day he had paid up five lakhs. Imam Ali, Wirdi-major 5th Irregular Cavalry, ill-treated the Raja very much, and the latter fled during the night. We remained there five days, and issued three months' pay to our troops at the rate of thirty rupees each sowar, and twelve rupees to each foot-soldier per mensem." The Raja Rana before he fled placed "some barrels of gunpowder handy for his wife and family to blow themselves up if threatened with insult; fortunately they were not compelled to avail themselves of their fugitive lord's last proof of affection." Tantia having secured a large amount of treasure, paid his troops. He also reinforced his force to 8000 or 10,000 men, and he got from the Rana's arsenal more than thirty guns, with abundance of ammunition and draught cattle. He had moreover, by his swift strategic movement, put a new complexion on affairs. Owing to the rise of the Chumbul he could not for a time be further pursued by Roberts and Parke. He

had removed the theatre of operations to a new region of great political and strategic importance. Indore was only one hundred and fifty miles distant, and at the court of a great Mahratta chief the cause of the Nana, who was regarded as the Peshwa, would find many adherents. The troops at Indore would join the national cause, and the flame of rebellion would swiftly spread over the wide territory of Holkar. It would be the first step towards crossing into the Deccan and raising the old true Mahratta land. Tantia had all the ability to plan a good scheme but not the courage or tenacity to carry it out.

Tantia marches south-east to Rajgurh.

Early in September Tantia left Jhalrapatan with his whole force and marched south-east to Rajgurh with the intention of reaching Indore. But Major-General Michel, Commanding Malwa Division, an active and capable commander, foreseeing that Tantia might at any time make a dash for Indore, had despatched a small force under Colonel Lockhart to cover Oojein, a town north of Indore. Tantia, who so often wavered in his plans, was a fortnight in reaching Rajgurh. Lockhart, on hearing of his arrival, marched north-east to Soosner, thirty miles from Rajgurh; but not feeling strong enough to attack the place, he determined to wait for the column under Colonel Hope, which had also been despatched from Mhow, and entrenched himself in a good position. Tantia with his ten thousand men and numerous guns hesitated about attacking it, and Lockhart and Hope united their forces at Nalkhara, ten miles south-east of Soosner.

Colonel Lockhart marches to Soosner.

General Michel assumes the command in person.

On the 13th of September General Michel arrived there to assume the command in person. Hearing that Brigadier Parke was *en route* to cover Indore he marched with the Mhow Field Force[1] towards Rajgurh. About 3 P.M. the troops were halted while the General reconnoitred the enemy's position, "who were at both sides of the river at Rajgurh, but the heat of the weather was so excessive, and so large a portion of the infantry were affected by the sun, that I found it impossible to attack the same evening."[2] At 5 A.M. the British force resumed its advance, and at the break of dawn they found the enemy had marched away during the night. On crossing the river they were discovered in a very strong position on the road to Biowra. When General Michel sent forward his horse to reconnoitre, the enemy moved on, closely followed by the cavalry, who had a slight skirmish with their rearguard, "wherein the 3rd Cavalry behaved very gallantly." They pressed them so hard that the rebels had to abandon three guns on the road, not before a few had been sabred near them. After they had followed the enemy's line of retreat for about four miles, they saw the main body of their infantry drawn up in position and their guns on a ridge commanding the line of march. The British cavalry,

Action near Biowra, 15th September 1858.

[1] Detail of the Mhow Field Force :—
17th Lancers, 80.
3rd Bombay Cavalry, 180.
No. 8 Bengal Light Field Battery, 4 guns.
European Infantry, 92nd and 70th, 600.
Native Infantry, 19th and 4th Rifles, 1100.

[2] From Major-General Michel to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Biowra, 16th September 1858.

only two hundred and sixty in number, had to fall back and wait the arrival of the infantry and guns. As they came up the artillery of the enemy opened fire on them. "I endeavoured," says General Michel, "to check their fire, opening our 9-pounders on them, but the range was too great for guns of such calibre as ours. I therefore partially retired the force whilst the enemy slightly advanced." When the British infantry arrived, the whole line, covered by the skirmishers of the Rifles and the 92nd, advanced, the artillery in the centre and the cavalry on the right. The rebels kept up from about eight heavy guns a well-sustained fire, but when the British force approached their position they commenced retiring. "I did not allow the soldiers," General Michel writes, "to fire a round with their Miniés, although within range, as it would have checked our speed. Thus the enemy had opportunities of opening his guns again once or twice after once having commenced his retreat."[1] After following them for about three miles in the line of battle, two of the British guns "were rapidly brought into action, before the skirmishers, and the excellent practice of Lieutenant Le Marchant, commanding the artillery, began to throw them into extreme confusion. Another advance and another dash forward of the artillery completed their defeat."[2] The cavalry under Sir W. Gordon, Her Majesty's 17th Lancers, was now let loose, and

[1] From Major-General Michel to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Biowra, 16th September 1858.

[2] Ibid.

"pursued for four or five miles until horses and men were completely worn out." Twenty-seven guns were brought into the British camp. Tantia describes the action most briefly. "On reaching Rajgurh the English army came up and attacked us. We left our guns and fled."

Tantia flees eastward to the valley of the Betwa.

Tantia fled eastwards to the valley of the Betwa river, and after penetrating a densely wooded country he reached Seronge, where he halted for a week. He knew the heavy fall of rain must impede Michel's operations. Having obtained four guns he marched northwards to Essagurh, which he stormed, plundered, and obtained five guns. He could not proceed further north because his movements were being watched by Brigadier Smith's Brigade from Sipree, and in a north-easterly direction by a column under Colonel Liddell. The rebel commanders determined to divide their force. Tantia, with the remains of the once powerful Gwalior Contingent, was to advance on Chendaree, while the Rao Sahib was to transfer a detachment of the rebels with six guns across the Betwa, and proceed to Jalbahat in the direction of Jhansi. The great Hindu stronghold of Chendaree was garrisoned by some of Scindia's troops, and Tantia hoped they would fraternise with him. The possession of it would be to him of the greatest strategic importance. But the commander of the fort refused to admit him, and repelled his attacks. After wasting three days in a vain attempt to gain possession of it, Tantia, accompanied by the Nawab of Banda, moved southwards to Mungrowlee on the

The rebel commanders divide their force.

Tantia repulsed at Chendaree.

left or west bank of the Betwa, about twenty miles south of Chendaree.

Meanwhile the monsoon rains had ceased, and General Michel, knowing that Brigadier Parke covered Indore and Bhopal, had entered the Betwa valley, and was marching in a north-easterly direction to find Tantia. On the night of the 8th he received trustworthy information that the rebel force was four miles from Mungrowlee. Before the break of day he marched with his troops,[1] and on reaching that place he heard from the scouts that the enemy, some 5000 in number, were only two miles away, and were moving towards him. He went forward to meet them, and found the advance of the enemy, about 1000 strong, close to the village of Barulpore. "A few rounds of shell drove this force back on the main body, who were strongly posted at the elevated village of Shajehan Mhow," surrounded by a high scrubby jungle, in which it was impossible to see the enemy until quite close to them. The British force advanced, each regiment affording a quota of skirmishers. The enemy, deserting the village, endeavoured to outflank the British left, and with six guns played upon the advancing troops. Owing to the dense jungle some of the enemy got between the main body and the

Action at Mungrowlee, 10th October 1858.

[1] Details of the force :—

Bengal Artillery, 4 guns . .	62
17th Lancers	90
71st Regiment	210
92nd Highlanders	300
10th Regiment, Bombay Infantry .	429
Total . .	991 (*sic*)

rearguard. Sir W. Gordon, with a troop of the 17th Lancers, charged them, dispersed them, and cut them up before they could throw the British line into confusion. It advanced steadily. "The enemy stood fairly to their guns, cne or two of which were taken by a rush of the 92nd and 71st combined."[1] When the six guns were captured the enemy dispersed in all directions. "Unfortunately, all my cavalry, except 85 of the 17th Lancers, were detached to Brigadier Smith's column near Chandairee, or hardly a man would have escaped." That night Tantia and about 2500 of his men crossed the Betwa, at a ford "about eight miles from Shahjehan Mhow, near the road to Chandairee, the water up to their chins." They proceeded to Lullutpore, fifteen miles from the Betwa, where they were joined by the detachment with four guns, which under the Rao Sahib had gone north from Chendaree. The next day the Rao Sahib and the Nawab of Banda marched leisurely south-east some fifteen miles to Sindwah, a town lying on the route between Tehree, capital of the Orchha State in Bundelcund and Ojein. Between Sindwah and the Betwa there were thirty miles of dense jungle, and the rebel leaders thought they had baffled their pursuers.

General Michel had, however, foreseen their moves. After instructing Brigadier Smith to place

[1] "The 19th Regiment (Bombay) Native Infantry, under their very able and zealous commander, Captain Barrow, emulated the conduct of the British troops."—From the Major-General Commanding Malwa Division, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Camp Mungrowlee, 10th October 1858.

himself in a position to bar Tantia's movements westwards, he crossed the river, and made his way through the jungle for the purpose of covering Tehree. At midnight, 18th October, he heard that the rebels were at Sindwah, and their intention was to turn the protected ghats of the Jamni river, a tributary of the Betwa, and pass to the east. At 4 A.M. he marched with his force [1] for Sindwah. Owing to the darkness of the morning, and the impossibility of finding a road, it was after four hours' tramping that he found the rebels posted on a hill beyond Sindwah. They were on their way to the east, and would have been surprised had not a bugle sounded and warned them to prepare for action. To prevent them proceeding further to the east, General Michel advanced rapidly with a portion of his cavalry parallel to their extreme left. The enemy, seeing his intention, came down in strength and made an impetuous attack. The 8th Hussars, 1st Bombay Lancers, and the 17th Lancers drove them back. The Horse Artillery and the remainder of the cavalry now galloped up and opened fire. The enemy's guns returning the fire with energy and accuracy, sent shot and canister against them. It was a

Battle of Sindwah, 19th October 1858.

[1] Detail of the force :—

1st Column.		*2nd Column.*	
3 Troop Horse Artillery	60	3rd Bombay Cavalry	50
8th Hussars	118	2-6 Bengal Battery	80
17th Lancers	90	71st Regiment	210
1st Bombay Lancers	93	92nd Highlanders	320
3rd Bombay Cavalry	98	19th Bombay Infantry	500
95th Regiment	20		
Mayne's Horse	50		

critical moment. The presence of the infantry was sorely needed. The Highlanders had, during a long and trying march, kept close to them, and they now with Le Marchant's 9-pounder Bengal Battery came up briskly in line on the British left, and drove the enemy up the hill. The rebels now pursued their usual tactics, and tried to turn both flanks. The Horse Artillery and the cavalry with them were so hardly pressed on the right by a large body of the enemy in a field of high corn, that the 19th Bombay Native Infantry, which had followed the Highlanders, had to be brought to their support. A shower of grape drove the rebels out of their shelter. The 93rd Highlanders were at the same time hotly engaged in resisting an attack on the British extreme left. The 71st advanced steadily to the front of the low range of hills, driving the enemy before them. The 93rd having repelled the rebel attack on the left, again advanced, and the 71st and 92nd, by a combined movement, captured their guns, and the enemy, defeated at every point, retreated. They were pursued for nine miles with considerable slaughter. The British loss amounted to five officers and eighteen men killed and wounded. General Michel wrote in his despatch: "I may state, that as on the cavalry the whole of the loss of the day fell, so they did their duty well and gallantly. But I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of that spirit of chivalrous endurance which, during a rapid march of at least twenty miles over broken country, enabled our infantry to keep almost up

to the cavalry, nor from recording a fact which shows the spirit of the British soldier, that, notwithstanding the heat, when the firing commenced, all the sick of the 71st and 92nd Regiments could not be restrained, but fell into the ranks, and so remained to the close of the day."[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Curtis brought specially to notice "the zeal of Major Chetwode, in command of the 8th Hussars, and the boldness of his personal exploits, as does Colonel De Salis of the gallantry of Lieutenant Wood[2] of the 17th Lancers, who (having, from paucity of officers in the 3rd Cavalry, volunteered during the campaign to command a troop of the 3rd Light Cavalry), on this occasion almost single-handed came up to and attacked a body of the enemy."

The Rao Sahib rode off the field and rejoined Tantia at Lullutpore. They then marched together in a north-westerly direction in order to again cross the Betwa, but when they arrived at the ford they found it guarded by Colonel Liddell with a small party from Jhansi. Tantia's campaign had been one of shifts and devices in order to keep the different columns separated until the Nana, with whom he was in constant communication, escaped through the cordon in Oudh and joined him. Then they would cross the Nerbudda and raise the standard of the Peshwa in Mahratta land. But the Nana's chance of escaping from Oudh grew less day

[1] From the Major-General Commanding M.D.A., to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Headquarters, M.D.A., Camp, Kurai, 26th October 1858.

[2] Field-Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood, V.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

by day, and Tantia saw that he himself was being hemmed in on all sides by the British columns. He therefore, resolved to make a dash south for the Nerbudda at all hazards. When he was headed by Colonel Liddell, he turned north-eastwards in the direction of Lal Bahat to deceive his pursuer. The following day he retraced his footsteps, and penetrated into the Jaclone jungles.

After the action at Sindwah, Michel also moved in a north-west direction, but more to the westward than Tantia, in order to prevent him from breaking through to the south. On the 22nd of October Michel arrived at Lullutpore[1] and heard that the rebels had returned to Jaclone.[2] Without guns or wheeled carriage they were able to move through the hills and dense jungle; but he had to adopt a more circuitous route, and proceed by forced marches. At dawn, on October 25, he discovered the rebel force crossing his front near the village of Kurai. "As I was desirous of bringing my infantry into action, I had ordered them to march one hour before the cavalry; the consequence was that the cavalry had only just come up in the rear when the infantry, under Colonel Lockhart, having cut the enemy's line of march in half, had wheeled to the right, and part advanced skirmishing. The infantry had already dispersed the enemy, who were not formed up in order of battle when the cavalry arrived."[3] They at once pursued the retreating

Fight at Kurai, 25th October.

[1] Laterpur. [2] Jakhlaun.

[3] From the Major-General Commanding M.D.A., to the Adjutant-General of the Army Headquarters, M.D.A., Camp, Kurai, 26th October 1858.

foe, who had divided into three different bodies. Colonel Curtis, on the right, could not proceed far, as their cavalry threatened to attack the baggage, but Sir W. Gordon, with the 17th Lancers and 3rd Light Cavalry, and Captain Mayne, with about sixty of his Horse, followed two of the bodies for about nine miles. The infantry also followed for five miles, clearing the villages.

Tantia Topee, with the main body, had passed Kurai on his march to the south about two or three hours before his wing was attacked.[1] The next day, 26th March, he stumbled upon Colonel Beecher at Bagrode, who, with the 1st Regiment of the newly raised Beatson's Horse, was marching from the Deccan to join General Michel. Beecher was a soldier of nerve and dash, and though his men were recruits and the enemy far superior in number, he did not hesitate to charge their whole force. He inflicted some loss, but he could not check them. Tantia pressed onwards to the Nerbudda, and crossed it about forty miles above Hoshungabad, and entered the province of Nagpore. In 1853 the Mahratta State of Nagpore was declared to have lapsed to the British Government, and he hoped a Mahratta leader appearing among the people would arouse their nationality and bring them many recruits. He, however, now found that the Madras and Bombay Governments had quite realised the gravity of his entering the territories of the Nizam and the

Tantia gallantly attacked by Colonel Beecher.

Tantia crosses the Nerbudda.

[1] "The main body, under Tantia Topee, passed Kurai about two or three hours before our arrival on march to the south."—From the Major-General Commanding M.D.A., to the Adjutant-General of the Army Headquarters, M.D.A., Camp, Kurai, 26th October 1858.

Deccan, and arrangements were quickly made to guard against his irruption into them. After crossing the Nerbudda he proceeded to Futtypoor, a large town situated at the foot of a low range of hills, backed by the Patchmurree mountains. Tantia heard that Lieutenant Kerr, with the Southern Mahratta Horse, had left Hoshungabad, and was in vigorous pursuit of him, and he moved with haste to Mooltali, a small town eighty-seven miles from Nagpore, situated on an elevated plateau more than two thousand feet high. He entered it with considerable pomp, and his force proclaimed that they were the advance guard of the Peshwa's Army, who were about to take possession of the Deccan after numerous victories in Central India. But Tantia had not the heart to strike. He found a force from Nagpore barring the direct way, and he turned sharp to the westward and proceeded to Mul Ghat, intending to thread the hills by a little-known pass; but he discovered that the presence of a British cavalry force rendered the task hopeless. He then went south through a short spur of hills to Charwa, and then dashed down south-west to Boorgaum, near Asseergurh. He asked the Ranee of Bhopal to assist him with men and guns. Her reply was, "If you want them, come and take them," and she sent information to all the British columns in the neighbourhood. Finding a force was watching at Asseergurh, he took a north-westerly course, and on the 19th of November he reached Kurgaon, about twenty miles east of the Grand Trunk Road from Bombay to Agra, and thirty miles from Sindwah

He enters Mooltali.

Ghat, the pass leading into Khandeish. Here he halted to refresh his men and deliberate on his further movements. At Kurgaon he had been joined by two troops of Holkar's Cavalry, a company of infantry, and two guns. If he could but enter a Mahratta state he hoped to get ample support. He dared not enter Khandeish, for he learnt that Sir Hugh Rose had made preparations to meet him. He determined, therefore, to recross the Nerbudda unperceived, and to enter the northern territory of the Gaekwar, a Mahratta ruler, whose Mahratta troops Tantia had reason to think would join the cause of the Nana. But to escape the observation of the pursuing columns had now become no easy matter.

Movements of Michel and Parke.

After defeating the rebels at Kurai, General Michel pushed on in pursuit, and reached Hosungabad with his cavalry on November 7, the infantry having been left at Bhilsa to recruit. Here he met Parke, whom he had ordered to join him. Leaving Parke at Hosungabad, Michel crossed the Nerbudda and entered the central plateau of Beetul, a wild stretch of hills and forest. The maps of the district were incorrect, communication difficult, and no information could be gathered from the people as to the movements of Tantia. Michel never suspected that Tantia would find a difficulty in getting through the hills to the south, and he ordered Parke to march to Charwa, the town nearest the Nerbudda, but situated for intercepting Tantia if he moved in that direction. Michel also marched to the same point, but Tantia had passed through it before he or Parke could reach it.

They arrive at Charwa.

Major Sutherland's operation.

When Brigadier Edwardes, commanding at Mhow, heard rumours of the movements of Tantia westward, he sent a couple of small infantry detachments to watch the fords of the Nerbudda above Akerpore, where the Grand Trunk Road crosses the river. On receiving further intelligence of Tantia's movements he ordered Major Sutherland, H.M.'s 92nd Highlanders, who commanded one of the detachments, comprising one hundred men of the 92nd Highlanders and one hundred 4th Bombay Rifles, to cross the river and to keep the Grand Trunk Road clear. Sutherland crossed the Nerbudda, and was on November 23 at Tekree, six miles south of it, when he heard that Tantia and the Rao Sahib were at Kurgaon. The following morning he moved to Jeelwana, six miles south of Than, sixteen miles from the Sindwah Pass, "so that I could cut them off from that route if they made for Khandeish, or move rapidly back along the main road if they tried to turn my flank." The same morning he was joined by fifty men of H.M.'s 71st Highland Light Infantry, under Lieutenant Lewis, who had been brought seventy miles in thirty hours by Lieutenant Barras, who commanded a detachment of the Camel Corps which was being raised at Nusseerabad for the Malwa division. It was a novel form of mounted infantry. There was a native driver to each camel, who sat in front of the hump, while an infantry soldier sat behind it. The Highlanders, especially those clad in the garb of the Gael, did not like the action of their steeds. "I wunna mount the coemel, I wunna

Sutherland crosses the Nerbudda.

mount the coemel," exclaimed more than one gallant Scotchman after a halt. "Weel, if you wunna mount the coemel, you'll stay behind and lose your head to the rebels," retorted Barras.[1] In the forenoon, November 24, the rebels sent a patrol of two hundred horse towards Sindwah and another about the same strength towards Than. It was therefore doubtful which route the main body would take. Late in the evening the scouts brought information which indicated that the rebels would not attempt the Sindwah Ghat, but move north-west, crossing the main road at Than. At daylight, November 25, Sutherland took his detachment[2] to clear the road, leaving one subaltern and sixty rank and file to guard the encampment. On reaching Than he learnt that the whole of the rebels had passed that place during the night. They had cut the telegraph wire to Indore and plundered some merchant carts laden with stores for Mhow. Sutherland determined to pursue at once, "the traces of their gun-wheels and elephants serving to guide us on the proper line." After eight miles' rapid marching

Sutherland pursues Tantia, 25th November.

[1] "Blackwood's Magazine," 1860.

[2] Detail of the Force:—

71st Highlanders	1 subaltern. 40 rank and file.
92nd Highlanders	1 captain. 1 subaltern. 90 rank and file.
1st Bombay, 4th Rifles	1 captain. 60 rank and file.
Holkar's	1 commandant. 100 sowars.

Agent's escort, 20 sowars.
Camel Corps, under Lieutenant Barras, 150.

he overtook the rearguard of the enemy streaming out of Rajpore. "I allowed them five minutes to clear the town, for if they had attempted to hold it my small force could never have dislodged them." It consisted of 200 men, without artillery. Tantia had 3000 or 4000 men, fairly organised and equipped, and two guns. For five miles Sutherland pursued their rearguard through a thick jungle. Then he found a road, and saw their main body drawn up upon the side of a nullah which crossed it at right angles. "When 500 yards from this spot," says Major Sutherland, "I dismounted the infantry, who were on camels, and was proceeding to attack, when, to my surprise, the remainder of my men who were on foot appeared a few hundred yards in rear, having kept up with the camels at more than five miles an hour."[1] As soon as they came up the detachment advanced, but the rebels retired, hardly waiting to exchange shots. The men remounted their camels and the pursuit continued. They had gone about two miles when "the rebels again appeared, formed up in a strong position where the road ascended the slope, lined on both sides with thick jungles, and was overlooked by a rocky ridge which covered it, and which they lined with musketry, placing their two guns in the very centre of the road." Skirmishers were sent out and the force formed as well as the ground would permit. The enemy opened with musketry and grape: their

[1] From Major Sutherland, Her Majesty's 92nd Highlanders, Commanding Field Force Detachment, to Brigadier Edwardes, C.B., Commanding at Mhow Camp, on the Nerbudda, 27th November 1858.

position could not be turned: the order was given to charge, and the men "rushed straight along the road on their guns, which were carried with a loud cheer, and the rebels lost heart and fled." Lieutenant Humfreys, adjutant of the 92nd, "whilst gallantly pursuing five or six men who had been serving the guns, was attacked by their commandant and severely wounded." The road lay through a dense jungle: the British troops were exhausted, and they returned to their camp at Rajpore with the two guns. The next day Sutherland continued the pursuit vigorously, but the rebels had got a long start, and when at sunset he reached the Nerbudda he found the rebels encamped on the other side. To attempt to force a passage across a river five hundred yards broad against a foe so superior in numbers would have been a hazardous task, and Sutherland halted on the south bank. That night Tantia broke up his camp, and, leaving the Nerbudda, he moved in a north-westerly direction to Baroda, the capital of the Baroda State or Territories of the Gaekwar. A vigorous and sudden stroke on Baroda before reinforcements from Bombay reached it might yet change the issue of the campaign. With all rapidity he pushed on thirty-eight miles without a halt. He rested for a day and then marched to Chota Oodeypore, fifty miles from Baroda, and connected with it by a road. He had every reason to believe that he had baffled his pursuers. But he had not gauged the power of endurance of the British soldier.

Action at Rajpore, 25th November.

Lieutenant Humfreys.

Tantia marches with all rapidity towards Baroda.

Arrives at Chota Oodeypore.

Soon after his arrival at Charwa trustworthy

information reached General Michel of Tantia's movements. He at once crossed the Nerbudda and proceeded to Mhow, where he despatched Parke with a flying column of cavalry, mounted infantry,[1] and two guns to press the pursuit with all vigour. Parke realised the utmost importance of attacking the enemy before he reached Baroda. He marched 240 miles in nine days. Day by day his force materially reduced the distance between them and the rebels. On the last day of November he reached a village where he heard that the rebels had left it that morning for Chota Oodeypore. He was bound to give his jaded animals some hours' rest. In the evening he again set forth, in the hope of overtaking the rebels before they marched the following morning. "The night march was through the densest jungle for twenty-two miles, at the end of which the narrow road debouched into a somewhat less thickly wooded plain, which gradually became more open as we advanced."[2] The spies informed Parke that the

Michel despatches Parke in pursuit of Tantia.

[1] Detail of Brigadier Parke's Force:—

2 guns, 9-pounders, ½-battery.

Bombay Artillery	50
H.M.'s 8th Hussars	47
2nd Bombay Light Cavalry	51
H.M.'s 72nd Highlanders	94
Goozerat Irregular Horse	164
H.H. the Guicowar Horse	304
2nd Regiment S. Mahratta Horse	161
Aden Troop, Scinde Horse	66
Total number of men	837 (*sic*)

[2] From Brigadier Parke, Commanding 2nd Brigade, Rajpootana Field Force, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Malwa Division, Camp, Oodeypore, on the River Oor, 6th December 1858.

enemy was not far away, and soon after Lieutenant Moore, who had led through the jungle with the Aden Horse, surprised some of their cavalry pickets. But it was difficult to ascertain their exact position, owing to the undulations of the ground and the brushwood. Throwing out skirmishers from the 72nd Highlanders, Parke made his preparations for the attack. The cavalry, under the command of Captain Buckle, 3rd Bombay Cavalry, "was formed into two lines in rear of the Artillery and Infantry support; the first line consisted of Irregular Cavalry, the second line of Her Majesty's 8th Hussars and Bombay Cavalry. The enemy, some three thousand in number, recovering their surprise, soon appeared in front and on both flanks. They were mostly cavalry well mounted." Parke determined to clear the right flank first. "The 2nd Regiment of Mahratta Horse was accordingly ordered up, and made a brilliant charge, capturing a standard, under the gallant commander, Lieutenant Kerr."[1] The artillery now advanced, with the Highlanders skirmishing on both flanks. The rebels sounded the British advance, and came forward with a bold front; but the two guns and Enfield rifles opened fire, and they fell back. A large body now threatened a second advance on the left flank. Parke changed front. At the same moment the Goozerat Horse, led by Lieutenant

Parke defeats Tantia at Chota Oodeypore, 1st December.

[1] From Brigadier Parke, Commanding 2nd Brigade, Rajpootana Field Force, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Malwa Division, Camp, Oodeypore, on the River Oor, 6th December 1858.

Newton, charged to the original British front and drove the enemy before them, "past the town of Oodeypore, across the river (shallow, with sandy bottom) into the mountains." Meanwhile the guns had been rapidly brought into the new positions, and, well served by Lieutenant Heathorn, had opened fire with canister-shot. The rebels had encamped on a somewhat clear space on the left bank of the river Oor leading to the town of Oodeypore, situated on the right bank of the stream (which runs almost in a semicircle around it), and surrounded by dense jungles and mountains. The ground in the immediate front of the British that separated them from the rebels was much broken, and several huts almost concealed from view on our right were held by matchlock-men. "A party of the Highlanders under Lieutenant Champion [no troops could behave better] advanced and cleared these hovels." The enemy now fled past the British left; and the 8th Hussars under Captain Clowes, 2nd Bombay Cavalry under Captain Smith, reinforced by a troop of Mahratta Horse under Lieutenant Bannerman, taking advantage of the opportunity, charged them and drove them across the river. Bannerman's troop closed first with the enemy, and their leader, a dashing fighter, slew four troopers who attacked him. The British guns kept up a heavy fire from the centre on the enemy's infantry, who held the opposite side and a small island in the centre of the stream.

Lieutenant Bannerman's daring deed.

Many were killed; the remainder retreated with the flying cavalry through the jungles and away into the mountains. Owing to the nature of the ground it was impossible to carry the pursuit far. The troops had marched upwards of 240 miles between the evening of the 21st of November and daylight on the morning of the 1st December, including the passage of the Nerbudda river. They had been on the march the whole of two previous nights. His men worn out, his horses knocked up, Parke was unable to move for some days.

After his surprise and defeat by Parke, Tantia Topee collected his troops, which had been divided into three bodies, and marched to Loonawara on the river Mye, which he hoped to cross and enter northern Goozerat. But he learnt that General Roberts was ready to receive him. At any moment he might be overtaken by Parke. He turned to the north-west, and after covering nearly sixty miles in twenty-four hours he and the Rao Sahib[1] entered the wild jungle tract covered with rugged hills, rocks, and scrub, which forms the south and east portion of the small State of Banswara, the southernmost of all the states of Rajpootana. On the 10th of December he entered the walled capital. Tantia states in his Journal: "Our men plundered there sixteen or seventeen camel-loads of cloth (some of Ahmedabad) belonging to a mahajan

Tantia re-enters Rajpootana.

Flies to the Banswara jungle.

Enters the capital.

[1] The Nawab of Banda had surrendered in November, under the terms of the Royal Proclamation.

or banker, which they found there. We thence went to Salomar,[1] and I called Kaiser Singh, agent for the Oodeypore Rajah, to furnish us with supplies. He sent us some, and the following day we again started with the intention of going to Oodeypore. However, *en route* we received tidings of the English force, and retraced our steps to Bhilwara." The English force was a column commanded by Major Roche, which had been sent from Neemuch to protect Oodeypore and to overawe Salumbar, a powerful dependency of Oodeypore. At the village of Bhilwara in the heart of the jungle, whose inhabitants were wild tribes of Bheels, Tantia could not stay, for he knew that at any time the fierce and hardy denizens of the forest might attack him. He knew not when Parke, who was following him on the west, might plunge into the jungle and surprise him. Colonel Somerset's Brigade at Rutlam had closed the southern exit. He therefore determined to move to the north-west, and, moving rapidly, he emerged on Christmas Day from the jungle close to Pertabgarh,[2] the capital of the state of the same name. Major Roche, who had skirted the jungle when Tantia had retraced his steps to Bhilwara, was encamped two miles away. His column consisted only of two hundred infantry, two guns, and a handful of native cavalry. He did not know of

Emerges from the jungle near Pertabgarh.

[1] Salumbar, chief town of a dependency of the same name in the State of Oodeypore, about forty miles south-east of Oodeypore city.

[2] Pertabgarh, "a state in the south of Rajpootana, lying between 23° 32′ and 24° 18′ N., and 74° 29′ and 75° E., with an area of 886 square miles." The only town is Pertabgarh, the capital.

Tantia's approach until he appeared in the open and marched straight upon his position. He "could merely remain on the defensive during an action which lasted some hours without much result. The rebels only wished to keep him in play while their elephants and what little baggage remained to them got clear of the pass."[1] About 8 P.M. "we ran off," says Tantia, "and proceeded about six miles to the east of Mandesar, and halted there." The next morning he again set forth, "and making three stages *en route*," he reached Zirapore, a hundred miles east-south-east of Neemuch. Tantia had again baffled his pursuers. But the respite was of short duration. The British soldier was prepared to endure any hardship and to execute any enterprise while he kept the field.

Action at Pertabgarh.

When Tantia burst out of the jungle at Pertabgarh, Colonel Benson, commanding the 2nd Cavalry Column, was on the edge of the jungle twenty miles south of it. On receiving intelligence of the appearance of the rebels, he started on the forenoon of the 25th of December after them, and marching thirty miles a-day he saw, at 3 A.M. on the 29th December, their watch-fires burning at Zirapore. He advanced stealthily over the ploughed land. When dawn brought light the rebel camp was not to be seen; they had silently stolen away, and were now two miles ahead. He followed at a trot, and on emerging from a wooded lane he found them drawn up in line of battle in

Colonel Benson's pursuit.

Benson disperses the rebels near Zirapore.

[1] "Blackwood's Magazine," 1860.

front of a jungle behind which ran a ravine. The 17th Lancers advanced, formed into columns of division. The rebels opened fire, and Benson, uncovering his guns, brought them rapidly to the front and replied with grape and shell. The rebels soon began to retire, and the Lancers charged their right and drove them into the jungle. The 17th then advanced in two columns and swept them from the jungle and across the ravine. On emerging from the trees they found them in position on some rising ground on their left. The columns formed in line and advanced with the artillery in the centre, and when they got within short range the guns again opened fire with grape and shell. The rebels attempted to turn the British left, but were checked by the left squadron under Sir George Leith. Then Sir William Gordon charged with the right column, and they fled.

Colonel Somerset defeats Tantia, 31st December.

The morning after the action Colonel Somerset, who with a small force had marched during the past five days 134 miles "without tents or European supplies," arrived at 6.15 P.M. at the village of Sethoo, where he heard from his spies that the rebels were at Chapra Bursaud, twelve miles away. He pushed forward at 12.5 A.M., and when he arrived four miles from the place he halted "until near daylight, fearing to disturb the enemy, who might move or disperse in the dark." The rebels had, however, got scent of his approach, and on reaching Chapra Bursaud, December 31st, he discovered they had moved off. The Cavalry and Horse Artillery

followed their tracks at a sharp military trot, and speeding along for about seven miles they struck on the three large bodies of cavalry, about three thousand in number, drawn up to receive them. "The Horse Artillery were immediately brought into action, and their fire was so rapid and effective that, though the Rebels endeavoured to get up a charge before the Infantry on Camels could be formed up and dismounted, they could not effect it, but retired, pursued by my Force, the Horse Artillery galloping to the front for some distance 'with the Cavalry,' when the Squadron of Lancers took up the pursuit."[1] After a pursuit of twelve miles, it being found that the rebels had so dispersed that it was impossible to follow their track, Somerset fell back upon Chapra Bursaud, where his support, 300 of the 9th Bombay Infantry, arrived in the afternoon.

Tantia flees to Kotah territory.

After his defeat at Bursaud, Tantia fled to Nahargarh in Kotah territory, where he halted and was joined by Man Singh. Leaving Man Singh on the banks of the Chumbul, he again went north and effected a junction with Feroze Shah at Indurgurh, on the west bank of that river. But the junction was now of little service to them. Feroze Shah had himself been defeated with considerable loss by Brigadier-General Napier, and his troops were a shattered and discouraged body of men. The combined forces of the two rebel leaders

Effects a junction with Feroze Shah at Indurgurh.

[1] From Colonel G. H. Somerset, Commanding Field Brigade, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Malwa Division, Camp, Chapra Baroda, 1st January 1859.

amounted to no more than two thousand men. "These harrassing pursuits had much diminished their army; indeed, it is astonishing how their horses had a leg to stand upon, or their riders the physical endurance to remain in the saddle. Those who could find fresh horses in the villages bought or stole them; and many a well-bred charger was left standing by the roadside, its back swarming with maggots and its hoofs worn to the sensible sole."

Brigadier-General Napier.

After the demolition of the fortifications at Paori Brigadier-General Napier marched to Gwalior. On the morning of the 12th of December he heard of the advance of the rebels under Feroze Shah. He at once came to the conclusion that they would march up the jungles of the Sindh river south-west of Gwalior. He was suffering from a severe attack of illness and hardly able to sit a horse, but that afternoon he started with a column,[1] intending to make his way to Dabrha on the Jhansi road, where he hoped to intercept the enemy. The next morning he was informed that the rebels had burnt the bungalows at Dabrha, and were proceeding in a south-westerly direction. Napier immediately marched south in pursuit, and at Bitiwar on the 14th he learnt that Feroze Shah was eight or nine miles ahead. Continuing his pursuit through

Napier pursues Feroze Shah, 12th December 1858.

[1] Detail of Brigadier-General Napier's Force:—

No. 4 Bombay Light Field Battery, 2 guns (Captain G. G. Brown).

14th Light Dragoons (Major R. B. Prettijohn) .	150
2nd Gwalior Mahratta Horse (Capt. F. H. Smith)	100
71st Highlanders (Major T. W. T. Rich) . .	117
25th Bombay Infantry (Lieut. J. F. Forbes) .	50
Gwalior Camel Corps (Captain H. Templer) .	40

Narwar, he there dropped the greater portion of the 71st and the Artillery, which could not keep up, and mounting thirty-eight Highlanders on camels, he pressed forward with them and the cavalry and reached Ranode on the morning of the 17th. That same morning Feroze Shah, who had marched on a line almost parallel to him, left the jungle to attack Ranode. He knew not that Napier had arrived there: Napier did not know where Feroze was until he saw a mass of men extended in a front of nearly a mile advancing. They were within a few hundred yards before the dragoons were formed. Nearer they approached. In a moment Major Prettijohn and a hundred and thirty-three of his troopers dashed into their centre. The rebel line, nearly a mile long, was broken and scattered, but there was many a mortal tussle man to man. Prettijohn received a severe wound, and Jemadar Jehan Khan, attached to the Mahratta Horse, received six wounds while engaged in single combat with several of the rebels, of whom he killed one and wounded others. Four hundred and fifty of the enemy were killed at Ranode and in the pursuit, which continued for nearly eight miles. Feroze Shah and his followers fled towards Chandere, but being turned by two columns he made for the jungle of Aroni.

Action at Ranode, 17th December 1858.

A small detachment[1] under Captain Rice, 25th

[1] The Goonah Column :—

Two 9-pounders, 4-2 Bombay Artillery.

Royal Engineers . . .	20
86th Foot	55
25th Bombay Infantry . .	150
Meade's Horse	140

The Goonah Column.

Bombay Native Infantry, a well-known sportsman who had tracked to his lair many a tiger, was sent from Goonah to intercept the fugitives. On arriving at Aroni, Rice heard that some two thousand rebels, mainly cavalry, were encamped in a dense jungle near a village about eleven miles away. Leaving forty-two men to guard his camp, he started with the column. Slowly they pushed forward the guns through the trees which grew more dense as they advanced. The moon rose upon them, and the bright rays, making their way through the canopy of branches, lighted the way. After pushing through rocky wooded glens for four hours, they caught a glimpse of the enemy's camp in a deep ravine. But the guns could only be advanced slowly through the narrow rocky forest path. Rice determined to push forward with the infantry under Lieutenants Festing and Waller. They swiftly made their way down the ravine, shot the rebel picket and charged through the camp. The rebels fled into the jungle, leaving behind them a hundred horse, several camels, and a large amount of arms. Brigadier-General Napier considered the officers and troops of this small detachment worthy of notice "for this very dashing and difficult enterprise, which has taught the enemy to distrust the security even of the deepest jungles that have so often favoured their escape."

Feroze Shah and Tantia at Indurgurh.

Feroze Shah fled to Rajgarh and then made his way north to Indurgurh, where, as we have seen, he met Tantia. The two rebel leaders soon discovered that they were being hemmed in by the various

columns in movement against them. When General Michel heard that Tantia had left the Banswarra jungle and Oodeypore was no longer threatened, he ordered Brigadier Honner, Commanding Rajpootana Field Force, who had left Nusseerabad on the 12th of December with his force to move on Oodeypore, to march in a north-easterly direction and watch the fords of the Chumbul between Kotah and Indurgurh. He reached Indurgurh the day after Tantia and Feroze Shah had fled in a south-easterly direction. On the 14th of January they had reached Dewassa (Daosa), a town thirty-eight miles east of Jeypore, and thought they had escaped by their tremendous pace from their pursuers, when the following morning they were surprised by Brigadier Showers, who had come down with a light column from Agra to cover Jeypore and Bhurtpore. After having followed the enemy continuously for fifty-seven miles, he reached the town situated on the western slope of a rocky hill about three in the morning. The rebels had taken up their position in some fields with high banks on the west. As the light began to strengthen, Showers determined to attack at once with the cavalry, leaving the artillery to follow with the infantry as escort. He led his few horse at a sharp trot through the winding streets, and reaching the open pushed up a high bank. Then forming the cavalry on the high ground, he advanced at a gallop and came upon the rebels preparing to march. In an instant he and his men were amongst them. The enemy, recovering their surprise, opened

Tantia and Feroze Shah fly in a south-easterly direction.

Action at Daosa, 14th January 1859.

a sharp musketry fire, but the cavalry drove them through another field into the open plain, and for some five miles the pursuit was continued. Three hundred rebels, whose force consisted of three thousand fighting men, were slain. A greater surprise and a greater disaster, however, awaited them.

Colonel Holmes' Column moves from Nusseer-abad.

On the morning of the 8th of January Colonel Holmes marched with a field detachment from Nusseerabad for the protection of Tonk and Jeypore. At Tonk he heard that the rebels were marching towards Jeypore, and he went after them. At 4.30 A.M., January 21st, "having marched fifty-four miles in twenty-four hours" through a sandy desert, he surprised the rebel camp at Sikar, a walled town about sixty-four miles north-west of Jeypore. "The confusion heard in their camp was very great, their horsemen galloped off in every direction without attempting to make a stand, and numbers without even saddling their horses." The artillery got quickly into action, "sending shot and shell into the fugitives, but the moonlight did not admit of much execution being done." The Sikh Horse and Mayne's Horse charged and completed the rout. "They continued the chase for some hours, but unluckily missed the roads which the Chiefs Tantia Topee, Rao Sahib, and Prince Feroze Shah took."[1]

The rebels surprised at Sikar, 21st January.

The defeat of the rebels by Holmes had a most

[1] From Lieutenant-Colonel J. Holmes, 12th Regiment B.N.T., Commanding Nusseerabad Field Detachment, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Rajpootana Field Force, Camp, Seekun (*sic*), 28th January 1859.

important political result. After their flight Feroze Shah, with the 12th Irregulars, left Tantia. The next day Tantia and the Rao Sahib were joined by three Thakoors or Rajpoot nobles related to Man Singh. He had been for some time, he tells us, quarrelling with the Rao Sahib, and told him "I could flee no longer, and that, whenever I saw an opportunity for doing so, I should leave him. The opportunity of doing so here offered, and I left him and accompanied the (three) above-named parties in this (the Paron) direction. When I left the Rao Sahib he had about six thousand men with him. But three men (two Pundits) to cook my food, and one *sais* (groom) and three horses and one *tattu* accompanied me. . . . We reached the Paron jungle and met Raja Man Singh."

Feroze Shah deserts Tantia.

Tantia leaves the Rao Sahib.

Meanwhile Rao Sahib with his followers moved towards the west, then to the south, and reached Kooshana, west of Ajmeer, about eighty miles east of Jodhpore, on the 10th February. But his attempt to mystify the British commander did not succeed. General Michel anticipated they would pass through Jodhpore territory and make for the Aravelli range which separates Jodhpore from Oodeypore. To prepare for this contingency he ordered Brigadier Somerset to proceed by forced marches and take up a position "near to the south of the Oodeypore side of the Chutterbhoog Pass, which is the principal road across the hills, but there are several smaller pathways near it."[1] Brigadier Showers was ordered to the north, Parke

[1] "Blackwood's Magazine," 1860.

to the west, and Honner to the south; on the east lay the great desert. On the 10th of February Honner's column[1] left Goonah, and after a march of forty-three miles, "thirty of it through a desert hilly tract of deep sand," reached on the following evening at five o'clock the rebel encampment at Kooshana. Eight miles before they arrived at this goal the rebels heard of their approach. They instantly began to flee, a body going under Feroze Shah to the south-west, the remainder under Rao Sahib to the south-east. When within three miles of the village Honner formed up his force, "the Hussars in column of divisions on the right, the 1st Bombay Lancers in the centre in a like formation at squadron distance, with the Sikh Horse on the left, considerably in advance in echelon, the detachments of Her Majesty's 83rd and 12th Native Infantry mounted on camels in line in front." They went forward in this formation at a sharp canter, "the camels keeping their place in excellent order." On arriving near the village they found the rebels were gone off to the left. Front was changed and they pressed on at a gallop. But after going about two miles

Brigadier Honner's march.

The rebels dispersed at Kooshana, 10th February 1859.

[1] Brigadier Honner's Column :—

Captain Carnegy, A.A.G.
Captain Heathcote, A.O.M.
Captain Malcolmson, Orderly Officer.
8th Hussars, 146 (Captain Phillips).
1st Bombay Lancers, 105 (Captain Dennis).
83rd Regiment, 137 (Lieutenant-Colonel Heathes).
12th Bombay Infantry, 57 (Lieutenant Fortescue).
Sikh Horse, 57 (Risalaar Mitka Singh).
Camel Corps, 70 (Lieutenant Stevenson).

the infantry returned to hold the village and the rebels' camp. The Hussars and Lancers continued the pursuit for eight or ten miles "long into the moonlight," fiercely sabring, and the next morning the patrols sent out counted 226 of the rebels dead. During the march, pursuit, and return to camp, the cavalry had gone over sixty-five miles. "I have to bring to special notice," Sir Robert Napier writes, "that since the force left Nusseerabad on the 1st December 1858, up to the present date (10th February) it had marched upwards of 800 miles."[1]

The Rao Sahib, with the remnant of his force, made for the Aravelli range, and reached the Chutterbhoog Pass on the 15th. Brigadier Somerset arrived within a few miles of it the same day, too late to prevent the rebels from piercing the defile and reaching, after a long march, Jeerun, twelve miles to the south of Neemuch. Brigadier Somerset pursued them closely all the time, and at Jeerun overtook them. A small body of 300 cavalry, chiefly Mussalmans from Cawnpore and Bareilly, surrendered on the 29th February 1859. The Rao Sahib and Feroze Shah made their way into the Seronge jungle in the Tonk state. The last strong organised rebel force in Central India had been defeated and dispersed, but in that zone of dense jungle and deep glens, some forty miles in radius, there were several considerable bands

The Rao Sahib and Feroze Shah make their way into the Seronge jungle.

[1] From Brigadier Honner, C.B., Commanding Rajpootana Field Force, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Malwa Division, Camp, Kooshana, 11th February 1859.

acting apparently independently, yet not entirely without concert.

General Michel at once ordered the pursuing columns to take up carefully selected positions adjoining the jungle at Manawar Thana, between fifty and sixty miles almost west of Seronge, Pachaore about thirty-five miles north of Seronge, and Bersea about thirty-five miles south-south-west of Seronge. Brigadier Wheeler moved out from Saugor towards the Betwa, ready to take up the pursuit should the rebels break cover. "A strong detachment under Major Chetwode formed a cordon between Seronge and Beursia, and thus cut off a portion of the extensive jungle and reduced the field operations considerably."[1] A column under Colonel De Salis, which General Michel had placed at the disposal of Sir Robert Napier, another under Colonel Rich, and a detachment of the 92nd Highlanders on their way to Jhansi under Colonel Lockhart, thoroughly swept the northern portion of the jungle, but without success. The impenetrable screen of trees and brushwood enabled the rebels to evade their pursuers. "Colonel Lockhart then pursued his march, and Colonels De Salis and Rich, with undiminished zeal, returned to the southern part of the jungle, and with better knowledge of its almost impervious recesses, succeeded by combined and excellent arrangements in driving the rebels from their fastnesses and defeating them

[1] From Brigadier-General Sir R. Napier, K.C.B., Commanding Gwalior Division, to the Chief of the Staff, Headquarters, Simla, Camp, Seronge, 21st April 1859.

with very severe loss, which, from all the information I can gather, I estimate about 500." [1] The rebels were commanded by Feroze Shah. It was his final defeat. He and Rao Sahib disappeared, and no trace of them could for some time be found.

Meanwhile Napier was busy clearing the Paron jungles, where Man Singh and Tantia Topee and large bands of rebels were concealed. Napier, sagacious and sound, determined to make thorough work of controlling it. He had clearances made in the jungle, and roads constructed which gave access to the most inaccessible haunts of the mutineers. On the 4th of April Napier reported to the Commander-in-Chief, "Man Singh has surrendered just as his last retreats were laid open by the road. . . . Since the days of General Wade the efficacy of roads so applied has not diminished." On the 2nd of April Man Singh entered the camp of Captain Meade, who commanded a field detachment, and was actively engaged in opening out roads and endeavouring to capture him and Tantia Topee. Five days later Man Singh, untrue to the traditions of his noble race, consented to betray his guest. On the evening of the 7th of April Meade selected a party of the 9th Bombay Native Infantry, under an intelligent native officer, to go into the jungle. They lay in ambush until 2 A.M., when Man Singh guided them to the spot where Tantia was sleeping

Napier clears the Paron jungles.

Man Singh surrenders.

Capture of Tantia Topee.

[1] From Brigadier-General Sir R. Napier, K.C.B., Commanding Gwalior Division, to the Chief of the Staff, Headquarters, Simla, Camp, Seronge, 21st April 1859.

with the two Pundits who cooked his food. Man Singh seized his weapons, and Tantia was swiftly secured. As the sun was rising they brought him into Meade's camp. "It appeared," Meade says, "that he had already started to join the rebels near Saronj, and that he had been in full communication with the Contingent troops (1000 strong) at Sheopur, whom he endeavoured to induce to join him. He stated, after his capture, that he was quite set up by the rest he had enjoyed, and that he intended recommencing his movements about the country, doing all the mischief he could."[1] Meade had him conveyed in a dhooly to Sipree. On the 15th of April he was tried by court-martial on the charge of "having been in rebellion, and having waged war against the British Government between January 1857 and December 1858, especially at Jhansi and Gwalior." After a patient trial, which lasted the whole day, he was found guilty of the heinous offence charged, and, in accordance with the law. he was sentenced to death.

Trial of Tantia Topee.

On the 27th of June 1857, at the first light of the morning, on a carpet spread before the Fisherman's Temple above the Suttee Choura Ghat at Cawnpore, sat Bala, the Nana's brother, Azeemoolah, Brigadier Jwala Pershai, and Tantia Topee, giving their final instructions, and anxiously awaiting the arrival of their victims. When grape and musketry had left but a few, there was a lull in the incessant fire, and Bala Rao and Tantia Topee urged the troopers

[1] "General Sir Richard Meade," by Thomas Henry Thornton, C.S.I., p. 74.

to enter the river and sabre those who were alive. The cries of the slaughtered women and children were in Thy Book recorded.

Execution of Tantia Topee.

At 4 P.M., on the 18th of April 1859, on the parade near the fort at Sipree, in a square formed by British troops, and surrounded by a large crowd of native spectators, Tantia Topee was hanged. On the 3rd of May 1860 Brigadier Jwala Pershai was hanged near the Choura Ghat. Khan Bahadur Khan, who had at Bareilly ordered that every Englishman and every native who sheltered a European should be put to death, was hanged near the spot where he gave the order. The final victory was, as his proud captives told him it would be, theirs. Justice was done, mercy shown to all who were not guilty of deliberate murder, the land cleansed of blood.

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